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**Indian History and Claims:  
A Research Handbook  
Volume 1**

**Canada**





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INDIAN HISTORY AND CLAIMS:

A RESEARCH HANDBOOK

VOLUME ONE: RESEARCH PROJECTS

Prepared by

Bennett Ellen McCardle

for the

Treaties and Historical Research Centre

Research Branch

Corporate Policy

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

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NOTE: The illustrations on pages 38, 60, 68, 103, 148 and 243 have been slightly retouched to improve the quality of the reproduction. Those on pages 114 and 238 are composite documents based on two or more originals. Identifying information has been deleted from documents on pages 60, 103 and 148.

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Bennett McCardle  
Ottawa, Ontario  
November 1982





## ABOUT THIS HANDBOOK

This handbook is written for people who are learning how to research Indian history, and for more experienced researchers who want to refresh their memories about sources and methods. Beginners could consider using the approach described in Volume One to write a history of their community; they may also need the more detailed advice on research methods in Volume Two. People already familiar with basic methods may prefer the more technical material on specific topics, found in both volumes.

The handbook is designed for projects which rely on written records, and especially archival documents, as the major source of information. Other valuable sources, such as oral tradition and ethnological studies, are also discussed.

My perspective on research, and my assumptions about researchers' concerns, arise from my experience as a historical and claims researcher for various Indian groups in the Treaty areas of Canada. I believe that this experience is similar to that of many other workers in the same field today. This includes at least some researchers in the non-Treaty areas, even those whose work has traditionally focused on sources other than archives.

### Using archival records

An archive, like a library, contains information on a wide variety of subjects. It is a special kind of repository in that it holds old and often unique records and papers. In an archive, you may find letters, reports, legal documents, maps, pictures, films, and sound recordings. These are the records that you, the researcher, can use to write Indian history. You may use documents that date from last year, such

as minutes of Band Council debates on economic development plans, or on new forms of government. Your source may be the reports of an Indian-white council held to discuss a military alliance 200 years earlier. You may even use eyewitness accounts of the first meetings and tradings between Indians and non-Indians in Canada, almost five centuries ago.

Your archival research can be applied in a number of ways, alone or in combination with other types of study. Recently, some researchers have used archival records, together with the recollections of living people and studies done by scholars in other fields, to write local histories of Canadian Indian communities -- some of the oldest human settlements in Canada.

Researchers also go to archives to explain and document Indian claims. Archives contain records of events and agreements that affect Indian rights to land, minerals, wildlife, and other valuable resources. Such agreements may have important legal consequences. For example, you may find reports in an archive that describe the negotiation of a Treaty, and the promises made at the time, from several different points of view. After you read and compare these reports, you will be able to explain more clearly what Indians and non-Indians agreed (or thought they agreed) to do when they put their hands to the pen. This kind of fact-finding allows the long-standing claims of Indian people today to be better argued, and perhaps satisfied.

#### What the handbook aims to do

If this handbook speeds up or otherwise helps the research you are doing now, or if it gives you new ideas, it will have done its job. The handbook was written partly to help in the difficult business of resolving Indian claims -- work that has taken up the time and energy of hundreds of researchers (not to mention the many others involved) during the past decade alone. But it is also meant simply to interest people in Indian history. This handbook may be a dry record of sources and methods,

but do not let that mislead you. The stories to be found in archives, and in the memories of living persons, are well worth retelling for their own sake. I hope that the people who use this book will write the histories we are all waiting to read.

#### How this handbook is arranged

The handbook is divided into two volumes. Volume One is made up of two parts. The first part suggests ways to write a local history, and gives some basic sources. The second part describes research on particular topics, such as Indian lands and resources, Treaties, Indian status, and economic history. It ends with a general bibliography.

Volume Two describes research techniques in greater detail. It suggests ways of planning and carrying out research projects, and describes where to find and how to use major archives, libraries, and other sources of information. Finally, it discusses ways to use research once it is completed. At the end of this volume, four appendices list technical terms used in research on Indian history, restrictions on access to documents, sources of microfilmed documents, and addresses of the most important archives, libraries, and other research collections.

Each segment of the handbook is written so that it can be detached and used on its own, as necessary.





### WRITING A BAND, RESERVE OR COMMUNITY HISTORY

A history tells a story about something: a person, a group of people, a place, or even an idea. When you write a history of a Band, reserve, or community, you research and retell all the facts of your story. To do so, you can talk to the people in your community, and ask them to tell you about their lives and past events. You can use old pictures, photographs or maps to explain what life was like in the past. You can extract facts from books and documents.

The story you write can one day be shared with the people in the community. Perhaps your history could be taught to children in school, or used to educate non-Indians. It could be used as a base for other research on specific subjects.

Three methods are often used to collect basic information for a community history: interviewing older people, studying old pictures and maps, and using books and documents in libraries and archives.

#### Speaking to Older People

Elders remember life in the old days. These memories can be important for the history of the community. They may give you new and unique versions of events. They may reveal facts that challenge or confirm stories found in records kept by the government, or by others. You may be the first and only person ever to record these memories.

To collect these stories, interview elders who are regarded by the community as having a good knowledge of the past. Some people will tell you a great deal about past events without your having to ask them detailed questions. Others may not, because they do not know what kind of information you want. Thus, prepare a list of questions you want to ask before you talk to a person. These questions may be general: for example,

you may ask people to describe what life was like in the past, or to speak about traditions they have been taught; or they may be specific questions about people or events in the recent past.

After you have written down your list of questions, check them over once again. Avoid questions that need only a "yes" or "no" answer, such as, "You were present at the signing of the Treaty, weren't you?" Ask instead, "What can you tell me about the signing of the Treaty?". Also, avoid questions that put words into the elder's mouth -- such as, "People who trapped here used to choose places for their traplines themselves, didn't they?" It is the other person's views you want to record, not your own.

The chance to speak to an elder may not come again, so make as complete a record of your meeting as you can. Write down as much of the interview as possible while the person is talking, or make a tape recording of it. Almost all researchers find that tape recording is best, because the result is accurate and complete, and because the recorder gives you, the interviewer, time to listen and think. Prepare yourself by finding a suitable machine, and check that it works smoothly. If necessary, enlist a friend to help operate it, or to take written notes. You can now go ahead and interview the people who have agreed to speak to you.

When the interview is finished, preserve your information carefully. Label tapes with the name of the person interviewed, the interviewer, and the date and place of the interview. Make a complete written copy or "transcript" of the interview as soon as possible. Translate the interview carefully, if necessary. Store the tape in a safe place, so that you or other researchers can refer to it again. (Some researchers have lost valuable interviews by failing to transcribe their tapes properly, and then losing the tape.)

Information collected and recorded in interviews is often called "oral tradition". History written using this information is called "oral history". Researchers often combine oral history with "documentary history" (information taken from written records).



### Using Pictures and Maps

Old photographs, pictures, and maps can help you to collect information for a local history. Show these documents to people and ask them to tell you about the person, place, or event in the picture. Many people may think at first that they have no information that you can use. However, some of them will be able to remember a great deal if their memories are refreshed by pictures from their past.

To find useful pictures, ask your family, neighbours, or elders to search through their cupboards and drawers. They may come up with old, one-of-a-kind items. These may be fragile or rare, so make photocopies of them, or have a commercial photo store make duplicates. Then return the originals to their owners.

Where else will you find pictures? Many local offices, schools and libraries have them, filed away in boxes or proudly displayed on the walls. Some central archives also have picture collections. Here is a checklist:

Place to Look for Pictures	How to Find Addresses
Band or Tribal Council Office	Ask in community.
Local church, school, or hospital	Ask in community.
Indian Affairs District Office	Look in a local telephone book or ask at a federal government information office.
Local history museum	Ask at your local public library, or call a local history society, or consult the <u>Directory of Canadian Museums and Related Institutions</u> (Ottawa: Canadian Museums Association, 1981).
Provincial archives	Located in the capital city of each Province or Territory. See Volume 2 of this Handbook (page 353) for addresses.
Special photograph archives	See Volume 2 of this Handbook (page 358) for addresses.



Three good examples of local history built up from photographs are Julie Cruikshank and J. Robb's Their Own Yukon: A Photographic History by Yukon Indian People (Whitehorse: Yukon Native Brotherhood, 1975); Regina Beaudin and others, M'chigeeng (West Bay, Ont.: West Bay Band, 1981); and A.M. Lindsay, The Light of Yesterday. A Pictorial History of Life In Northeastern Manitoba during the 1920's (Ottawa: DIAND, 1975).

Maps can be used in the same way as pictures. Find and copy an old map of the reserve or community. Show the copy around and discuss it with other people. Ask them to point out any important landmarks, places, or other details. Study the map yourself, and try to find out when the map was made, who made it, and for what purpose. If you have more than one map, compare them to see how and why they differ.

Here is a checklist of useful map collections:

Place to Look for Pictures	How to Find Addresses
Band or Tribal Council Office	Ask in community.
Indian Affairs District Office	Look in a local telephone book or ask at a federal government information office.
Indian Affairs Regional Office (Lands Division)	See Volume 2 of this handbook (page 365) for addresses.
Provincial archives (Map Section)	See Volume 2 of this Handbook (page 353) for addresses.
Local Land Titles Offices	Ask at your local public library, or telephone the Attorney General's Office of your Provincial government (in the telephone book of your provincial capital) to locate the one nearest you.
Various federal archives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Legal Surveys Division of the Department of Indian Affairs.</li> <li>• The National Map Collection.</li> <li>• The Map Collection of the Legal Surveys Division, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. See Volume 2 of the Handbook (pages 251, 257 and 358) for further descriptions of map collections.</li> </ul>

OPPOSITE PAGE: A family picture. Samson Beaver, Leah Beaver and their daughter Frances Louise, taken by Mary Schaeffer during a packtrip in the Rocky Mountains in 1907.



The maps and pictures you collect can be used to illustrate your history when it is written. They will interest your readers, and may make your project easier to understand.

#### Using Libraries and Archives

Next, study other peoples' research. Four sources are especially useful when you are writing a basic local history of an Indian community. Look for them in your local library or bookstore.

1. Books on Indian history. Look for one or two general books about Indian people, either ones relating to Canada generally, or to your own region. Some useful ones are listed on pages 18 to 21 of this handbook.

2. General local histories. Read books or articles on the history of your area, province, territory, region, or neighbouring town. To find these, consult a librarian or local history society, or your Provincial Archives (see Volume 2 of this handbook, pages 353-357, for addresses).

3. Printed reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. Look for these in the "government documents" section of your library. Detailed advice on how to locate these reports is given on page 21.

The Annual Reports have been issued yearly since 1860. They describe Treaties, the setting up of reserves, land surveys, surrenders and sales, health, schools, farming, hunting and fishing, and many other matters. The reports for 1867 to 1916 are the most informative about individual Bands and reserves, but the later ones often also give useful facts. It is more difficult to find detailed information on Indian communities before 1867. Two useful government reports, issued in 1845 and 1858, partly fill this gap for Ontario and Quebec.

These reports were written by Indian Affairs officials to inform the Department in Ottawa. Thus, they represent the government's view of people and events. You may find them unsatisfactory or incomplete. Even so, they are a good place to start when you are looking for facts that general histories do not mention -- especially details of reserve land dealings or of a Band's economy.

4. Special collections of information on local history. These collections, found in many local libraries, include "vertical files" (cabinets holding documents, news clippings, and reports), special archives, and special indexes. Ask your librarian if your library has any, and if so, how to use them.

Your library may not have what you need. If so, you may still be able to borrow a specific book or report from another library, by mail, using the interlibrary loan network. Your librarian can explain this system to you.

You may also decide to look for documents in local or national archives. Because research of this kind takes extra time and effort, some researchers do not use this sort of material in their local histories. The later sections of this handbook describe archival records, and show how to find and use them.

#### Recording and Writing Up your Findings

As you read books, interviews and documents, record the facts you want to remember. Photocopy parts of the book or article that contain important information, or else take notes which summarize the main points.

Remember to identify each note or copy by writing the source on it. That is, put on each paper the title, author, date, publisher, and place of publication (if it is from a book) or the title, author, name of publication, date, volume, and page numbers (if it is an article in a

magazine or journal). Mark maps and pictures in a similar way. You can then refer to your original source again at a later date. You will find more suggestions on how to take notes, and how to organize them, on pages 274-280 of volume Two of this handbook.

When you are finished, collect all your findings, and re-read your documents and notes. If you discover two or more versions of the same important event, such as a council, land surrender, survey, or Treaty session, compare them. Perhaps you have tapes of several elders discussing the event, and also a copy of an Indian agent's description of the same happening. Study each version, and note how each tells a different part of the story. Remember that people's memories are sometimes mistaken, and that written records are sometimes incomplete, or are slanted according to the prejudices of the writer.

Next, try to explain how different versions of the same story arose, and why. If there are any gaps in your information, see if you can find the missing facts.

When you have put all your facts in order, and have decided how to make them into a story, you are ready to write. Make an outline of what you want to say. Break your story up into manageable parts. You could write about each different subject separately, or you could simply retell events as they happened (in chronological order).

Every project is different, so the way you arrange your facts will be suited to your own needs. As an example, you might use these titles for six separate sections of your report:

1. The Earliest Days (traditional life and settlements)
2. Fur Trading, Missionaries, and White Settlers
3. The Signing of the Treaty (if you are in a Treaty area)
4. The Reserve (or Settlement): Its Lands and Resources
5. The Community Today
6. Family Histories



You can then write your history. When you have finished, ask someone else to read it and comment on it. Make any changes that are needed. Write up a final copy for use, and photocopy it. You can also organize your collection of interviews, documents, notes, and pictures, so that others can read and use them. Label the papers, arrange them in an orderly way, and mount or bind them. You can then display or store them for later use.

Where do you go from here? You may want to publish your history to inform the community or the public generally. You can use your work as a starting point for work on more specific topics. You may also use it as a base for research on a claim -- that is, an unresolved problem arising from the community's special rights to such things as land, resources, or wildlife. (All good claims projects begin with a well-researched local history.)

In the rest of this handbook you will find information on research projects that can be built on a local history. The next part of Volume One describes projects on specific subjects, such as reserve lands, Treaties, Indian status, and economic development. For example, you can use Volume One to make up a family tree, to document Treaty promises, to research the setting up a reserve or the loss of land from it, or to study the management of the Band's finances.

Volume Two gives more detailed advice on methods of doing research. It suggests ways to plan a project, and describes the major archives and sources of information. Finally, it discusses particular problems faced by all researchers, including the organizing of documents, photocopying, using microfilm, and locating special sources such as the Indian Act, archaeological records, and fur trade records.

SOME DO'S AND DON'TS FOR RESEARCHERS

1. Do tell people in the community what you are researching, and ask for their help.
2. Do plan interviews carefully. Prepare your questions beforehand. Don't ask leading questions, or questions with short "yes" or "no" answers. Record your interview accurately and in full.
3. Do discuss your findings with the people you interview. Ask them to comment on your pictures, maps, and documents.
4. Do look for information in as many places as possible. Expect your research to take time. (It is a sad fact, but there is rarely one single person, book or file that answers all your questions at once.)
5. Do contact the archives you plan to visit by writing or telephoning in advance. Archivists who know what you are looking for before you arrive may be able to find extra information for you.
6. Do be nice to people, even when they cannot find what you need. If you treat officials or archivists as if they are being unhelpful on purpose, they may decide to conform to your opinion of them. If you have a serious problem, go to an official higher up.
7. Mountains don't move overnight. Remember that even the most willing officials may not be able to find what you need quickly. They also may not be able to bend the rules of large offices or libraries for you.

8. Do take care of fragile documents and tapes. Make copies for use and store the originals safely away.
  9. Do label every piece of information you collect, so that you know exactly where it came from.
  10. Do keep all your papers in order.
  11. Do ask for advice from other people who have written local histories.
  12. If you aren't a member of the community about which you are writing, respect its people's opinions and interests as you would your own.
  13. Whenever possible, do share your finished history with all the people in the community.
-



Indian fishermen working on scallop suspension ropes at Sydney, Nova Scotia, in 1973.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCH ON INDIAN LOCAL HISTORY

## IN CANADA

### Local histories

Here are some good examples of published Indian local histories:

David Blanchard. Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka. Kahnawake (Caughnawaga): Kahnawake Survival School, 1980.

Peter S. Schmalz. The History of the Saugeen Indians. Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977.

Chief John Snow. These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians. Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977.

Mae Whetung-Derrick. History of the Ojibwa of the Curve Lake Reserve and Surrounding Area (3 volumes). No loc.: Curve Lake Indian Band No. 35, 1976.

### Oral history

Many researchers have collected and published Indian oral history. Here are some especially good examples of interviews with Indian elders, who speak about both traditional and modern life:

Edward Ahenakew, editor. Voices of the Plains Cree. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Marius Barbeau and G. Melvin, editors. The Indian Speaks. Toronto: Macmillan, 1943.

Randy Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, editors. Shuswap Stories. Vancouver: Commcept Publishing Ltd., 1970.

Randy Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, editors. "Lillooet Stories". Sound Heritage (1977) vol. 6(1) pages 1-78.

Dan Kennedy (Ochankugaha). Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Donna Phillips, H. Whitecalf and R. Troff, editors. Kataayuk: Saskatchewan Indian Elders. No loc.: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Colleges, 1976.

Donna Phillips and H. Whitecalf, editors. Enewuk. No loc.: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Colleges, 1977.

Richard Price, editor. The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980, pp. 103 - 160.

Evelyn Walkus Windsor et al. Oowekeeno Oral Traditions As Told By The Late Chief Simon Walkus Sr. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 84). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1982.

For advice on how to interview elders, and on the use of oral history generally, see:

W.J. Langlois. Aural History Institute of British Columbia: Manual. Victoria, B.C.: Aural History Institute of B.C., 1974.

Barbara Allen and W.L. Martell. From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research. Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1981.

Jane McCracken, ed. Oral History: Basic Techniques. Winnipeg: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 1974.

Ernie Dick and R. Lothead. Recording Techniques for Oral History Interviews. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1976. (A 15-minute tape recording which explains how to handle, make, and store tapes of oral history interviews. To obtain a copy, send a blank 30 minute per side cassette or a 1.5-mil reel tape to the Sound Section, National Film, Television and Sound Archives, 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N3.)

### Books and articles

The following are some useful books about Indian history and society across Canada. A selection of general books is listed first, followed by items on particular regions. Some of these are not completely satisfactory because of mistakes and omissions, or because of the tone adopted by the authors when speaking of native people. On the whole, however, they are the best available sources of information for basic research.

### Canada

Philippe Jacquin. Histoire des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. Paris: Payot, 1976.

Diamond Jenness. The Indians of Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967.

Douglas Leechman. Native Tribes of Canada. Toronto: Gage, 1956.

Hope McLean. Indians, Inuit and Métis of Canada. Agincourt, Ont.: Gage, 1982.

E. Palmer Patterson II. The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500. Don Mills, Ont.: Collier-MacMillan, 1972.

John A. Price. Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice - Hall of Canada, 1979.

Robert J. Surtees. The Original People. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Fraser Symington. The Canadian Indian: The Illustrated History of the Great Tribes of Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.

J.V. Wright. Six Chapters of Canada's Prehistory. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1979.

### The North

Keith J. Crowe. A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. Montreal/London: Arctic Institute of North America/McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.

June Helm, editor. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

### British Columbia

Philip Drucker. Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1965.

Wilson Duff. The Indian History of British Columbia. Volume 1 only. (Anthropology in B.C., Memoir no. 5). Victoria: Ministry of the Provincial Secretary and Travel Industry, 1969, reprinted 1980.

Robin Fisher. Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.

H.R. Hays. Children of the Raven: The Seven Indian Nations of the Northwest Coast. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

### The Prairies

John C. Ewers. The Blackfeet, Raiders on the Northwestern Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

Ian A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith. One Century Later: Western and the Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.

David Mandelbaum. The Plains Cree... Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1979.

Arthur J. Ray. Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

G.F.G. Stanley. The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.

Hugh A. Dempsey. Indian Tribes of Alberta. Calgary: Glenbow - Alberta Institute, 1978.

Richard Price, ed. The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980.

### Ontario

Emerson S. Coatsworth. Nomads of the Shield: Ojibwa Indians. Toronto: Ginn, 1970.

Charles M. Johnston. The Valley of the Six Nations. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1964.

W.V. Kinietz. The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1965.

J.L. Morris. Indians of Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1964.

George R. Quimby. Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11000 B.C. to A.D. 1800. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Edward S. Rogers, ed. History of the Indians of Ontario. Forthcoming, 1983.

Bruce Trigger. The Huron: Farmers of the North. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969.

J.V. Wright. Ontario Prehistory. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1972.

### Quebec

Valerie Marchant, Toby Ornstein, et al. The First Peoples in Quebec. (3 volumes.) La Macaza, Que.: Thunderbird Press, 1973.

J.V. Wright. Quebec Prehistory. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1979.

### Maritimes

Phyllis R. Blakely. The Micmacs. Toronto: Addison-Wesley Canada, 1974.

H.F. McGee, ed. The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

James Tuck. Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976.

L.F.S. Upton. Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979.

W.D. and R.S. Wallis. The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

### Eastern Canada (general)

Alfred G. Bailey. The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700... (2nd edition). Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Conrad E. Heidenreich and A.J. Ray. The Early Fur Trades. A Study in Cultural Interaction. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.

Bruce Trigger, ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 15: Northeast. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

These are only a few of the best books on local Indian history and ways of life. To find others, or to find books and articles on special subjects, consult a reading list, or "bibliography". The three best bibliographies for this purpose are:

Robin Fisher. "Historical writing on native people in Canada". In: The History and Social Science Teacher (1982) volume 17(2) pp. 65-72.



George Peter Murdock. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (5 volumes, 4th edition). New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, 1975.

Robert J. Surtees. Canadian Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington/London: Indiana University Press, 1982.

You will find more detailed lists of sources on pages 197 to 210 of this handbook.

### Reports of The Department of Indian Affairs

Look for these reports in the "government documents" or "official publications" section of your library. If you cannot find them near home, all those listed here can be borrowed, in microfiche form, through the "interlibrary loan" system.

No yearly reports on Indian Affairs were published before 1860. Detailed information on individual Bands in eastern Canada is provided in these two special reports, dated 1845 and 1858:

"Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada" (parts I, II and III). In: Canada (Province of Canada), Legislative Assembly, Journals, 1844-45, Appendix "EEE" (including Parts I and II of report) and Canada, Legislative Assembly, Journals, 1847, Appendix "T" (Part III of report).

"Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September, 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada". In: Canada (Province of Canada), Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1858, Appendix 21. (Also published as a separate booklet in 1858).

Indian Affairs has been administered by different departments at different times since 1860. Thus the yearly reports are indexed under a variety of headings. Use the following list to locate them in a library:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Department and Title of Report</u>
1860/61 to 1866/67	Canada (Province of Canada). Department of Crown Lands. <u>Annual Report</u> (subsection on the Indian Department).
1867/68 to 1872/73	Canada. Secretary of State for the Provinces (or Secretary of State for Canada). <u>Annual Report</u> .

1873/74 to 1879/80	Canada. Department of the Interior. <u>Annual Report</u> .
1880/81 to 1935/36	Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. <u>Annual Report</u> .
1936/37 to 1949/50	Canada. Department of Mines and Resources. <u>Annual Report</u> (subsection on the Indian Affairs Branch).
1950/51 to 1964/65	Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. <u>Annual Report</u> (subsection on the Indian Affairs Branch).
1965/66	Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. <u>Annual Report</u> (subsection on the Indian Affairs Branch).
1966/67 to present	Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. <u>Annual Report</u> .

In this handbook, the present Department of Indian Affairs is referred to by its legal name, the "Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development" (DIAND). Other writers sometimes call it by a semi-official short form, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA or DIANA). The part of government responsible for Indian Affairs before 1966 is called "DIA" in this handbook for convenience, although it went by a variety of legal names (such as the "Indian Affairs Branch", or IAB, between 1936 and 1966).

### Writing local history

These three books give detailed advice on how to research, write and publish local histories. They can be used by researchers anywhere in Canada. The first is especially recommended for beginning writers.

Eric J. Holmgren. Writing Local History. (Provincial Archives of Alberta Publication No. 3). Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Heritage Resources Division, 1975.

Hugh A. Dempsey. How to Prepare a Local History. Edmonton: Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, 1969.

Gerald Friesen and B. Potyondi. A Guide to the Study of Manitoba Local History. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981.



Election officials and candidates after the counting of votes at a Band Council election, Mistassini Lake, Quebec, in 1975.





## SPECIFIC RESEARCH PROJECTS

### How this section is organized

This second part of Volume One deals with specific topics which may call for special research skills or sources. The first seven sections cover major subjects of interest to most Indian historical researchers, especially those working on Indian claims. The eighth section gives shorter reviews of historical sources on a variety of other subjects. The ninth lists general research aids (histories, bibliographies, and catalogues) not previously mentioned.

In each section, I list questions often asked about the topic, and then review the information that is available to answer them. At the end of each section is a compact list of specific archival and other sources. You will find fuller descriptions of each type of source, with advice on how to use them, in Volume Two of the handbook, under "Research Methods". Technical terms used here are defined and explained in the Glossary (Appendix 1 of Volume Two). Refer to the subject index at the end of Volume Two if you cannot locate material on particular topics.

### A word about claims research

This part of the handbook deals extensively with claims research, which is often work of a political or controversial kind.\* This being so, I would like to comment on the researcher's sometimes problematical position in the claims process.

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\* Indian claims sometimes seek the recognition of very broad rights based on aboriginal title: the federal government calls these "comprehensive claims". Claims can also arise out of the provisions of more specific laws or agreements, and in particular from Indian Treaties or the Indian Act: these include such matters as allocation of reserves, hunting rights, surrenders, leases, and the administration of Band funds. The latter kind are called "specific claims" by the Federal government. More specific definitions of what the Federal government accepts as claims today can be found in its two current policy statements, In All Fairness, A Native Claims Policy: Comprehensive Claims (Ottawa, 1981) and Outstanding Business, A Native Claims Policy: Specific Claims (Ottawa, 1982). Indian positions as to claims can be obtained from the individual Indian organizations.

Claims researchers are part of a political process: that of settling Indian claims by negotiation, legal action, or other means. These methods are all adversarial -- that is, each side must treat the other side to some extent as an opponent, or an enemy, rather than as a partner. Some claims situations do involve co-operative negotiation and joint action. In others, the two (or more) sides are hostile and opposed on all points.

The researcher, who normally works for one or other of the sides in the process, seldom escapes being caught up in this adversarial situation, even if he or she wishes to be neutral. You may find that the information you collect has important effects on the rights, status, lands, and moneys of Indian groups, governments or "third parties". The facts that you find may be used by your side (whichever side it is) selectively and in a political manner to support its view of the claim. You may be under some pressure to come up with facts which strengthen your case and which weaken that of your opponents.

How do you deal with pressure of this kind? No one can give you a complete answer to this question. I can only offer some personal suggestions, based on my own experience.

First, make sure you find as many of the facts as you possibly can. Keep looking for as long as you have the resources to do so. If you cannot find the evidence your side wants and needs, you cannot invent it. But you will at least be able to say that you did your best for the case. You may even be able to explain why there is no evidence to be found.

Second, study and evaluate closely all your facts (and not just those that seem to support your case). Above all, be critical and skeptical. Keep in mind that each person who reports on an important matter -- an Indian agent, a Band chief or councillor, a missionary, a local settler -- has his or her own personal view of the event. Compare these versions and try to explain why they differ. Find and account for missing evidence. Don't accept as absolute truth any one version of a

story that is not supported by at least one other reliable source. Finally, figure out all the possible interpretations of your facts, and report on them. This will prepare your side to deal with any arguments that can be made against your case, as well as the ones to be made for it.

Third, be aware of your own biases and prejudices about the case. You want your claim to succeed, and this may blind you to the arguments that the other side will make against it. The better you understand these arguments, the better you can defend your case.

Fourth, remember that not all research results in a claim. You begin a project with a particular understanding of the problem in mind. This may change into something quite different by the end of your research. Some old issues and grievances -- whose facts are hard to pin down and whose beginnings are unclear -- turn out to be caused by real mistakes, injustices, or illegal acts that can be remedied today. But not all grievances result in legal claims. (There are some land transactions managed by the Department of Indian Affairs that were properly carried out.) No amount of extra research can turn them into issues that a court or a claims process can settle.

Finally, avoid getting too closely involved in the political side of a claim. This is advice that some researchers disagree with, and it is certainly difficult to follow in many cases. Most researchers are responsible to political people, and must advise them; some are asked to take part in negotiations; and some are politicians and negotiators themselves. If you are involved in this way, you will have to walk a fine line between the partisan politics of the claim and the (more) objective research that goes into it. As I have said, objectivity -- that is, seeing and evaluating all sides of a question -- is valuable. It allows you to understand the problem as a whole. It prepares people on your side to deal with all possible outcomes of the case. If you lose these advantages, your work will be less useful.

Thus, as a claims researcher, you participate in the difficult process of settling claims. First, you find as much information as possible; then you carefully compare and evaluate the facts; and, finally, you summarize your findings fully and accurately for the people involved in settling the claim.

Even if no claim results, your work remains important. It may explain why the issue has remained alive in peoples' minds over the years. This explanation is valuable, because it will increase the understanding and confidence of the people concerned. It may also help you to guide future research in the right direction.



## RESERVE LANDS AND RESOURCES

This section deals with Indian reserve lands and the resources on them. There are many different research topics in this field, most of which are complex. Thus I will deal separately with five major subject areas: (1) reserve land title; (2) reserve surveys and related matters, including reserve boundaries, leases, and land allotments or "locations"; (3) expropriation and rights of way; (4) Indian lands with special or unusual status; and (5) on-reserve resources (minerals, timber, and others).

To clarify certain problems, I refer, here and later, to two fictitious Bands: Fort Embûche in southern Quebec, and Black River, somewhere in the "numbered Treaty" area.

### 1. Reserve Land Title (Setting Up a Reserve)

Indian reserves can be created in a variety of ways. Some reserves were set up before Confederation by a Royal Charter, which granted land either to the Band or to a non-Indian group on their behalf. Some were provided for in the written terms of Indian Treaties. Some were originally lands granted by colonial government "licenses" or patents to Indian or private groups. A few were private lands deeded by their owners to the Crown for Indian use. Many of the reserves created since 1867 have been set up or "confirmed" by federal Orders-in-Council. In some cases the true origin of the reserve is uncertain.

To show how research on reserve land title can be done, I will use as examples the reserves of two fictional Bands, Fort Embûche (a pre-Confederation reserve) and Black River (a Treaty reserve set up after

Confederation). Here are descriptions of how these lands were set up, lists of questions you need to ask about them, and lists of documents you would use to answer these questions.

### Les Embuscades Indian Reserve

The Fort Embûche Band, located in southern Quebec, originally lived in a wide area to the north and east of Montreal. Over 200 years ago, some of its members collected in a group around a trading post and church mission at Les Embuscades on the St. Lawrence River. Their descendants, and some Indian people from other groups, occupy the same land today.

Title to what is now the "Les Embuscades Indian Reserve" was granted by the French Crown in about 1750, perhaps to the missionary order, perhaps to the Indians (the documents have not yet been interpreted to everyone's satisfaction). Laws passed by the colonial government of Quebec (Lower Canada) between 1810 and 1860 appear to confirm the existence of a piece of Indian land at Embuscades. From Confederation (1867) to the present day, the land has been treated as an Indian reserve under the Indian Act.

Questions to ask	Documents to look for
When did the ancestors of the Fort Embûche Band first settle at this place?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Historical records on the settlement written by fur traders, missionaries, settlers, or colonial government administrators.</li> <li>● Ethnological records describing the Band's traditional way of life and aboriginal territory.</li> <li>● Records describing the arrival of Indians from other groups to settle on the reserve.</li> </ul>
Are there any legal grants affecting their land? Do they mention the Indian use of the land?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Copies of the Royal charter (or other kinds of documents) granting title to the land, and any letters relating to it that explain the grant.</li> <li>● Copies of any other grants, laws, or other documents relating to later changes in the ownership of the land.</li> </ul>

How has the land been used since it was first granted or set up as a reserve?

- Letters and reports, written by government or Band officials, missionaries, and others, describing the use of the reserve since the Charter.
- Legal documents, such as land surrenders or expropriations, that make statements about the status of the land.

### The Black River Reserves

The Black River Band lives in one of the "numbered Treaty" areas of western Canada or northern Ontario. Before the Treaty, the people lived in small groups scattered around the northeastern part of the province. After signing the Treaty, when Indian hunting territories were becoming less productive, the Band agreed to choose reserve land. Two of its reserves, Black River and Amisk Lake, were established under a Treaty promise which stated that the Band was to receive "one square mile per family of five", or 128 acres of land per person. The third reserve, Fishing Island, was the Band's traditional base for fall fishing. It was left out of the original selection because the Band was not aware that they could lose it if they did not take it as a reserve. In 1915, a non-Indian squatter tried to get title to the island. The Band then asked that the island be granted to them as reserve land.

Black River and Amisk Lake reserves were surveyed in 1895 and "confirmed" by federal Order-in-Council in 1900. Fishing Island was chosen in 1915, but not "confirmed" until 1932, because of technical delays and the squatter's counter-claims to the land.

Questions to ask	Documents to look for
What territory did the Band use before the Treaty?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Documents or elders' interviews describing Indian ways of life and settlements before the Treaty (including information on houses, camps, hunting territory, and livelihood). These come from Indian elders, fur traders, missionaries, settlers, government officials, and others.</li> </ul>

Questions to ask	Documents to look for
What was said about land rights in the Treaty?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Reports by eyewitnesses who describe the Treaty negotiations, especially anything that was said about land.</li> <li>● A copy of the Treaty's written text, particularly its provisions on land.</li> <li>● Any official documents of the time that describe the Indian peoples' choice of and attitude to reserve lands.</li> </ul>
How was the reserve set up?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Records of any formal meetings held to choose the land.</li> <li>● Surveyors' reports describing the land before and during the survey.</li> <li>● Legal documents confirming or establishing the reserve, such as charters, Orders-in-Council, transfers, patents and any maps attached to them.</li> <li>● Letters or reports explaining the methods used to set up the reserve.</li> </ul>
What other events affect ownership of or "title to" the reserve?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Documents explaining why Fishing Island was left out of the original survey.</li> <li>● Documents explaining why there was a delay in confirming it.</li> <li>● Documents explaining what sort of claim the squatter had to the island.</li> <li>● Documents concerning later non-Indian (especially provincial) claims to reserve lands.</li> </ul>

Often it is not clear exactly when or how a reserve was created. This can be a special problem, especially for claims researchers. Collect all the legal documents, survey reports, maps, Orders-in-Council and other records you can find on this subject. Look for official lists (or "schedules") of reserves that include the land you are researching. Find legal records that treat the land as if it is a reserve (or as if it is not a reserve). Find statements or letters by Indian Affairs officials that



call the land "reserve land". Information of this kind helps to solve difficult legal and historical questions relating to reserve land title. The following sections describe how the same records are used in related projects.

## 2. Reserve Surveys (and related matters)

Now you know why, and under what authority, the reserve was set up. You can now go on to research how it was finally surveyed, and what the reserve looked like afterward.\*

Many of the land problems that face Band Councils today arise from surveys. Many researchers are asked to find, for example, the true location of a reserve's boundaries, after a dispute arises between the Band and its non-Indian neighbours. Others must research the ownership of non-Indian land, such as townsites, mission properties, trading posts, or homesteads lying within reserves; the legal ownership of roads or railways across the reserve; or the status of lands lying next to shifting bodies of water. Problems such as these can lead to bitter disputes between those involved if they are not researched and resolved.

To deal with cases of this kind, you will need the legal documents that set up the reserve in the first place, the records of the formal survey of the reserve, and documents connected with any later changes in the survey, or with any additions to or removals of land from the reserve.

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\* This section describes a case in which the survey precedes the official establishment of the reserve, but in many cases it is the other way around. It is still unclear exactly how one establishes a reserve (that is, from a legal point of view); thus the date on which land becomes a reserve may be in doubt in a particular case.

To show how all these documents fit together, I will retell the story of the survey of the Black River Band's reserves in 1895:

In 1892 the Department of Indian Affairs sent out a surveyor, J. Lestock Reid, to survey land for the Black River Band under their Treaty. Reid was given a letter that instructed him to read the Treaty, consult the Band, and lay out land for them in the Black River area according to directions given by the Band and the Treaty itself.

Reid arrived in the late summer of 1892 and met with the Band. He found that they were divided: some wanted the land laid out at their main settlement at Ningotchi, and some wanted land at Amisk Lake, ten miles away. They were also angered by the actions of settlers who were trying to lay claim to some of the land they wanted. Thus they rejected the surveyor's efforts to persuade them to take other land, or to accept the settlers' claims. Since it was late in the season, Reid left after doing only an incomplete survey of the Black River land.

Reid was not sent back until 1895, by which time the opposing claims had become more complicated and entrenched. He met with the Band again. After some discussion, the Band agreed to take other land in place of the plots claimed by the squatters. Reid completed the survey of two reserves in that year: Black River I.R. (Indian Reserve) No. 267 and Amisk Lake I.R. 267A. Several councillors went with him on the survey to make sure that the right land was laid out. They personally helped to dig the pits and install the posts that mark the reserve boundary.

Reid returned to his tent at Ningotchi; there he wrote up his field notes and made up a complete map of the reserve. He mailed these to Ottawa and decamped south to celebrate the end of the season. Meanwhile, the Band assumed that the land was theirs and began to build new houses and break land on it.

In Ottawa, Indian Affairs Lands Branch officials received Reid's package. They inspected and corrected his notes and map, and registered the map in the DIA Legal Survey Records collection. With all due deliberation, the Department began the five-year process of having the reserves formally confirmed. This was not completed until an Order-in-Council was issued in 1900: it stated (among other things) that the land was "set aside under the Treaty for the Black River Band of Indians".

The Band asked for Fishing Island as a reserve in 1915. By this time the island had already been surveyed as public or "Crown" lands by local authorities. Thus it did not have to be resurveyed. The Department simply had it legally transferred from the office administering the land to the Department of Indian Affairs. The land was marked on an existing legal plan, and the plan was attached to an Order-in-Council "confirming" it as "Fishing Island I.R. No. 267B, for the Black River Band".

If you were the person responsible for reconstructing this story, how would you go about finding the facts needed to tell it? Look for these documents:

1. The legal documents setting up the reserves. These are the papers described in the first part of this section.

2. Records of the original survey. These documents should show you exactly how the reserve was surveyed, marked out by stakes or markers on the ground, and mapped. They may state what land the Band asked for. They may also describe later changes made to the original survey. Look for these records:

- The instructions given to the surveyor before he went out to survey the reserve. For example, surveyor Reid received a letter (and possibly also a set of printed survey rules) in which the Department of Indian Affairs told him what land to lay out at Ningotchi, and how to do it. Some instructions say exactly what land is wanted, or they may (as Reid's did) ask him to consult the Band. He could have been ordered to use certain kinds of measurements, markers or survey formulas. Instructions are important because they show what the government's intentions were. They may have some legal force in claims to disputed areas.

- The surveyor's field book. Surveyors record their work in a book of technical notes, known as the "field notes" or "field book". These contain sketch-maps, measurements, remarks on land quality, and sometimes longer written reports. The field notes are vital evidence if there is a dispute over the exact location of the boundaries.

- The surveyor's final report. Surveyors often write out a report describing the survey and any unusual events that happen during it. This may be put on a file, or in the field book, or may be printed in a government document, such as the Department of Indian Affairs' Annual Report.

- The surveyor's final map and the "legal plan". After finishing a survey, a surveyor usually makes up a map from his field notes. This shows the outline of the reserve; the main lines surveyed;



its estimated size; landmarks; and other information. This map may then be used as a "legal plan"; that is, it may be registered by DIA in its Legal Surveys registry along with all other official maps of the reserve. The map (or a copy) may be attached to a formal document that confirms the reserve. Together with other evidence -- including the field-notes and the survey markers "on the ground" -- this map may be used to decide where the legal boundaries of the reserve lie. The sample map printed on page 38 shows how you can interpret this information.

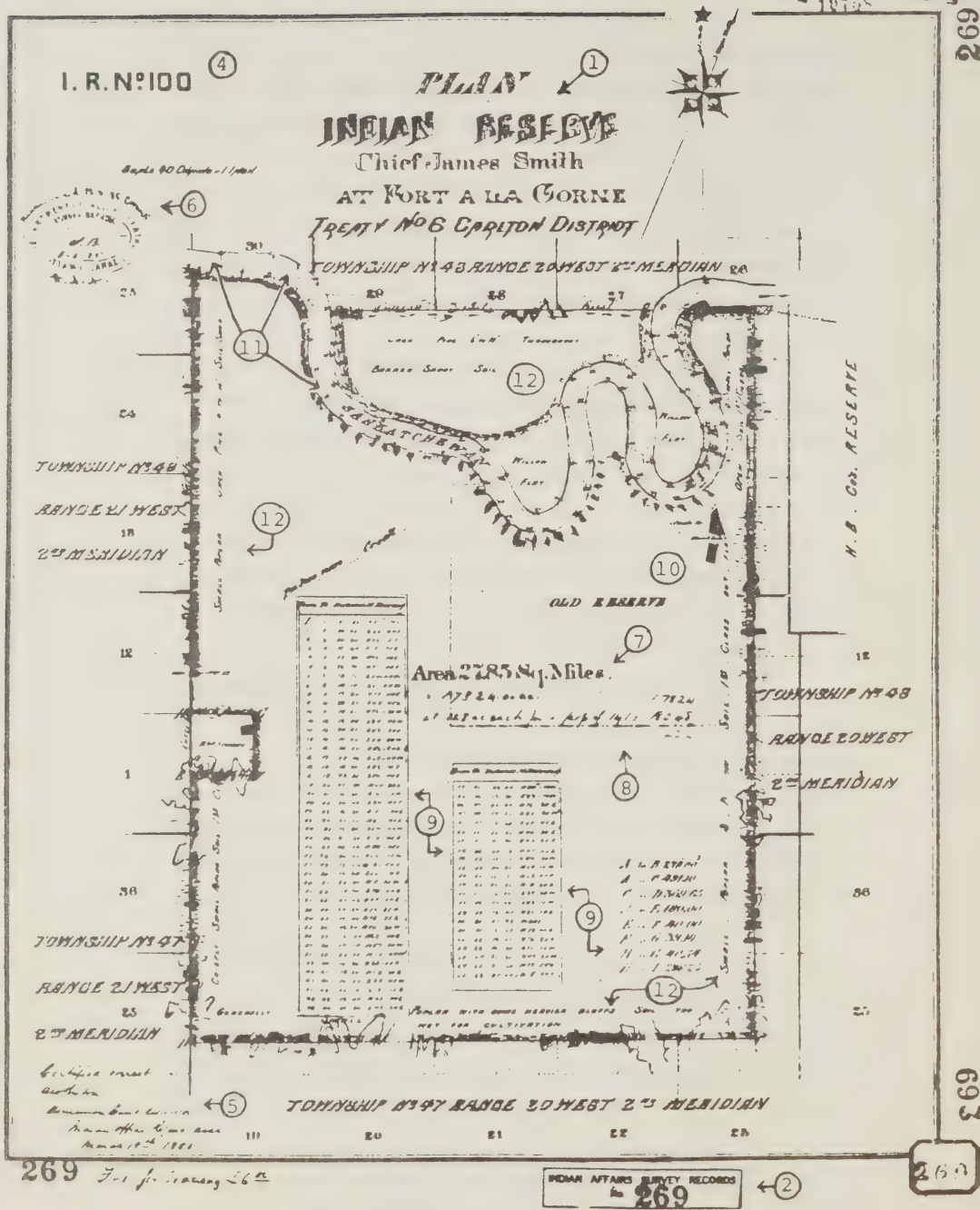
- Other evidence. In cases where evidence on the survey is very confused, other documents, such as letters, petitions, and statements by people present at the survey, may be needed to interpret the survey notes and maps.

3. Changes made to the original survey. A rich variety of land problems arises from irregular surveys, or from changes made to the reserve between the actual survey and its final confirmation. Look for the following:

- Changes made by the surveyor to his survey notes and maps, so that what the Band chose, or what is marked "on the ground", does not correspond to the reserve as described in the documents.

- Changes made by Ottawa officials who alter the survey documents -- for example, to correct mistakes, or to deal with land claims by non-Indians.

- Mistakes in interpreting the survey. A misunderstanding of the field notes may lead to mistakes in the final legal plan, or in the legal document confirming the reserve. (This can include anything from the drawing of a single house-lot wrong, to the granting of the reserve to the wrong Band.)



James Smith I.R. No. 100, Treaty 6, Saskatchewan  
(DIA Legal Surveys Plan 269)

## MAP OF AN INDIAN RESERVE

This is a map made by the Survey Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs in 1885. It is probably the surveyor's original plan, drawn from his field notes and "certified correct" by him personally. It was then registered in the Indian Affairs Survey Records.

## NOTES

1. Title of Map. This shows the name of the Chief and/or the Band, the location of the reserve, and the Treaty that authorized the survey, if any.
2. Registration Number. The map's official registration number in the Indian Affairs Survey Records (or, in later years, the Canada Lands Survey Records).
3. Reference/File Number. A file or letter number put on the map when it was received in Ottawa from the surveyor in Regina. This number is entered in the Department's "Letter Register" and could be used to trace other related records in historic Indian Affairs files in the Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 10.
4. Reserve Number. A special number given to the reserve at the survey. Almost every reserve in Canada has such a number, but several separate number sequences exist in different parts of the country.
5. Surveyor's Signature. The surveyor (A.W. Ponton) has signed and dated the map.
6. Surveys Branch Examination Stamp. This shows that the map has been checked by a senior official of the Surveys Branch, in this case, "S.B." or Samuel Bray. It was later rechecked by another ("W.A.A.", or W.A. Austin).
7. Acreage. The size of the reserve as a whole.
8. Annotations. These relate to Treaty land entitlement (the per capita amount of land granted to the Band under the Treaty). Annotations often yield extra information about land transactions on the reserve after the date of survey.
9. Survey Data. Mathematical information used to calculate the exact location of reserve boundaries. In this case, both distances and astronomical bearings are given. These figures can be interpreted by referring to the surveyor's field notes and to the actual survey markers "on the ground".
10. Old Reserve. This annotation suggests that a smaller reserve had been surveyed at the same place some time previously.
11. Traverses. The diagonal lines marked across the river are surveyor's reconnaissance lines, or "traverses". These give readings that allow him to map the course of the river without actually surveying along the entire length of its shores.
12. Remarks on Terrain. Short comments by the surveyor on the reserve's main land-forms, soil types, and vegetation.

The map itself is now in the National Map Collection of the Public Archives of Canada. There are copies at the Department of Indian Affairs (Legal Surveys Division) and at the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. The Indian Affairs collection also includes related material, such as surveyor's field notes from which the plan was drawn up; preliminary sketches of the reserve; official duplicates or "tracings" of the final map; various unofficial copies; and revised versions made as a result of major changes in the reserve, such as resurveys, additions or surrenders.

- Conflicts with other claims or survey systems. The survey done by Indian Affairs may conflict with other non-Indian (e.g., colonial, provincial or federal) surveys in the same neighbourhood. This may not be discovered at once, but it may lead in the end to the same land being claimed by both Indians and non-Indians. Examples include counter-claims to reserve land by individuals, private bodies (such as the Hudson's Bay Company, railways, or land companies), provincial governments, or federal government departments other than Indian Affairs.

- Resurveys that change the outline of the reserve. There have been resurveys done within the last 10 years that have thrown the entire outline of a 100-year-old reserve into question. These new surveys may be done incorrectly, they may be done using the wrong rules, or they may uncover mistakes made by previous surveyors. Whatever the cause, look for the new surveyor's instructions, field notes, and maps, just as you would for an original survey.

4. Major changes after the original survey. These include any additions to the reserve, subdivisions of land within the reserve, or land removed from the reserve. Here are five typical problems:

- Additions. Land may be added to a reserve by the federal government for a number of reasons. For example, the Band may need more land, or may be owed more land under a Treaty. Land may have been left out of the original reserve (as in cases involving non-Indian claims, mission properties, roads or townsites). The addition, like so many other land transactions, may be wrongly or poorly surveyed. The land document adding it to the reserve may have mistakes in it, or may be of uncertain legal meaning.

- Land Surrenders. Surrenders are agreements by the Band to give up reserve land for sale to non-Indians. They may cause or complicate land problems. Cases of this kind are discussed in a later section of this handbook, on pages 88 to 103.

- Other cut-offs. Other unusual or irregular methods have been used to remove land from reserves. (See the section on "Surrenders".) Study each cut-off as a special case.

- Locations and leasing. Land within the reserve may be surveyed into lots (or "subdivided") and then allocated as "lots" or "locations" to individual Band members or groups within the Band. Reserves may also be subdivided for leasing to non-Indians. Problems sometimes arise if these surveys are not properly done.

For example, Les Embuscades is an older eastern reserve with some farmland and woodlots. It has been divided up for generations into lots, each one used by a particular family. These lots or "locations" can be passed down from parent to child, willed to other Indian-status persons on terms laid out in the Indian Act, or privately leased. But they are not owned by those who use them. They remain under Band or Ministerial control; the extent of this control depends on how they are first set up. The different types of location are discussed in the Glossary in Appendix 1 of this handbook, under "Location".

Some of the farmland on the Embuscades reserve is not allotted to any particular person. It used to be leased to non-Indian farmers. Before the leases could be made, the Band had to make a "surrender for lease". This did not "alienate" the land (that is, it did not remove the land from Band control forever) but it authorized the Department of Indian Affairs to lease it out for the Band's benefit. The Fort Embûche Band Council has now taken over the management of its own leases, although under the present Indian Act the Department of Indian Affairs still retains some formal control over them.

The federal government's lease and location policy has changed over time. More and more control is passing to the hands of individual Band councils. Thus, recent Band and District (Agency) records may be more useful than Ottawa records on this topic. Also, not all lots are



granted in the same way. Many Bands, especially those in western Canada, still allot land to Band members "by custom" (according to their own rules) rather than by the rules of the Indian Act.

Checklist of documents for research on a location or lease	
Survey documents	The surveyor's field notes and reports on (a) the subdivision of the reserve, or (b) the survey of the lease area.
Official maps	Maps that show how the lots or leases are laid out.
Location documents ("Location Tickets", "Certificates of Occupation", "Certificates of Possession", or "Notices of Entitlement")	Formal legal documents that show what lots have been granted to whom, and on what terms.
Surrender-for-lease document	The document (if any) by which the Band authorizes Indian Affairs to lease the reserve, and related papers, if any (such as a voter's list, an Order-in-Council confirming the surrender, affidavits, and maps).
Lease document	The agreement signed between the lessee and the Department, or the lessee and the Band.
Laws applying to the lot or lease	The lease or location provisions of the Indian Act in force at the time the lease or location was made.
Background information	Letters, reports or other documents (from Band, DIAND or other files) that describe the granting of the lots or lease, state their terms, and explain any other outstanding questions about the land.

### 3. Expropriations and Rights of Way

Almost every Indian reserve in Canada has had some land taken or "expropriated" by governments or corporations for "public purposes". This includes land taken for roads, railways, rights-of-way (for irrigation, canals, pipelines or electrical lines), school sites, hospitals, or other "public works".

Expropriations can be complex and controversial topics -- for example, when a right-of-way threatens to interfere with the Band's use of the reserve; or when there is a possibility that it will threaten the lives or property of people on the reserve; or when the compensation paid to the Band for the land is unacceptable (either to the Band or the expropriator).

Expropriations of reserve land are done in one of two ways: (a) under the terms of the Indian Act, by the Department of Indian Affairs, or (b) under a special expropriation law, by some other group. Groups that can be given power to expropriate include private corporations (such as railways or irrigation companies), municipal governments, provincial governments, or federal departments other than Indian Affairs (such as National Defence or Health and Welfare).

The special expropriation laws that authorize these groups to take land include certain Indian Treaties; the federal Railway Acts, Irrigation Acts, and War Measures Act; and certain provincial acts. These require the expropriator to do certain things, such as surveying and mapping the land properly, paying fair compensation for it, obtaining certain kinds of formal approval, and setting up safeguards (for example, on dangerous railway rights of way). Over and above this, expropriators must also obey any restrictions laid down by the Indian Act or a Treaty.

The amount of money paid to the Band as compensation is usually negotiated between the Band (or the Department of Indian Affairs) and the expropriator. Study the records of these negotiations to see if they were

carried out fairly. Try to find out if the Band received a fair price for the land. This is often a difficult question to answer, even if you research related records such as records of current land prices in the district. In a later section of this handbook ("Economic Development and Finances", pages 106 and 113), I describe historical sources on finances, valuation of lands, and trust funds.

The various expropriation laws have changed many times in the years since they first applied to Indian reserves. When you research a case, check that you have copies of the ones that were in force at the time the expropriation was done.

Checklist of documents for research on an expropriation	
The legal document approving the expropriation (such as an Order in Council or Ministerial Order)	This states the exact location of the land and the terms of the expropriation.
Legal survey maps	Any special maps that identify the land taken.
The law authorizing the taking of the land	That is, (a) the expropriation clauses of the Indian Act, or other Indian legislation in force at the time; (b) the particular expropriation law applying to the land in question, such as a Federal or Provincial statute relating to railway, road or irrigation rights-of-way; and (c) a Treaty or other agreement (if any exists) that refers to the taking of reserve land for public works, and that applies to the case you are researching.
Compensation records	Any financial records (such as Trust Fund statements or receipts) showing that the Band did, or did not, get the compensation due to it for the land.
Background information	Letters, reports, petitions, and other documents that show (a) how and on what terms the expropriation took place, (b) how compensation was calculated and (c) whether the terms of compensation (including amounts of money, safety measures, etc.) were fair and just.

#### 4. Lands with Special Status

Some lands that are commonly called "reserves", or that are held by the Crown "for the use and benefit of" a particular Band, are not in fact reserve lands under the Indian Act. Other lands are of uncertain status, and are now (or may be) the subject of claims. These include the following:

- Lands affected by constitutional agreements. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, the Prairie provinces, and British Columbia have made various kinds of formal agreements with the federal government, clarifying control of public lands and resources under the constitution. These either deal expressly with Indian reserve lands, or affect reserve ownership indirectly. (For example, some give the provinces reversionary rights to abandoned reserves, or a share in on-reserve mineral revenues.) The exact meaning of these agreements is not always clear, and the status of some Indian lands may therefore be uncertain.

- Crown Lands held by Indian Affairs or a Band, "for Indian purposes". This is land, owned by the Department of Indian Affairs, which has not been given reserve status but which is set aside (a) for a particular Indian Band, or (b) for administration, such as an Indian agency site, Indian school, hospital, church, or other public building. DIAND's policy is now to avoid giving reserve status to new land grants or purchases except under certain special conditions. Thus the number of these non-reserve holdings is increasing.

- Land privately owned by a Band or Band corporation. Some Bands buy and own land in their own right, generally through a Band-owned corporation.

- "Indian lands". Before 1951, this was the name given to reserve land surrendered by the Band for sale, which had not yet sold. After the surrender, during the sale period, and before the issue of patent

to the final buyer, it was "Indian land". It was not "reserve land", but was still land in which the Band had a legal interest. Land of this kind is now simply called "unsold surrendered land".

- "Special reserves". Since the 1850s at least, federal and colonial law has given a kind of reserve status to certain lands that are set aside for Indian use, but are owned by someone other than the Crown (such as churches, charities, or private persons). The meaning and application of this law is not clear. It is possible that some lands once had this status, and might still have it.

- Other special cases. Some other kinds of land were once thought to be reserves, but are now of uncertain status. These include: land set aside for Bands as "special-purpose" reserves, such as fishing stations, timber lands, and cemetery sites; land set aside for more than one Band; land set aside for a Band or Bands which cannot be identified; and land intended to be reserve land, but which is claimed by a provincial government or private person on special legal grounds (such as rights of reversion or adverse possession).

Researchers who deal with these types of land usually need special legal advice.

## 5. Resources on the Reserve

A Band's right to reserve lands usually, though not always, includes the right to use and profit from the resources on it. These may include water and water-power, timber, minerals, coal, oil and gas, hay, sand, gravel, and stone. In the past, these resources were dealt with in a variety of different ways. To explain how, take the case of the Black River Band:



The Black River Band is very unusual, and in some ways fortunate, because it has a little of almost everything on two of its three reserves. It has productive oil wells (first found in 1953); a small coal deposit (almost mined out by 1930 but still producing a little today); some haylands which produce in the three years out of five that the water levels are right; and three or four gravel pits. The Council has just ordered a study of the prospects for water-power development on the reserve. Before World War I, the reserve also had stands of timber (now gone) and provided water for irrigation to the farms of non-Indian landowners nearby. Because of federal-provincial disagreements over the Fishing Island reserve when it was confirmed in 1932, the Band did not receive title to minerals on it. These rights now belong to the province.

- The coal, oil, natural gas and minerals\* on the reserve can be used by Band members without a surrender, although the Band Council and/or the Minister have control over how this is done. If non-Indian interests, such as mining companies, want to lease rights to these resources, there must first be a "mineral surrender" in which the Band "releases" its rights. Like a surrender for lease, this does not alienate the Band's rights completely. It only gives the Department authority to lease the minerals and to bank the moneys paid by the company in the Band's trust fund. Most Bands who own reserves with any mineral potential have already given once-for-all mineral surrenders.

The mineral surrender is voted on exactly as in the land surrenders described in a later section of this handbook. The Department then puts the rights up for auction or tender, and leases them out to mining

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\* Including such materials as tar sands, base metals and sometimes precious metals (gold and silver). The latter are, however, subject to special provincial laws and often do not belong to the Band owning the reserve.

corporations, under special regulations made under the Indian Act. The Black River Band now manages at least part of this process itself. It also administers the leasing of the land ("surface rights") that the companies need for their minesites.

Several different sets of Indian Act regulations have applied to these transactions at various times in the past. There have been separate regulations for (a) coal, (b) oil and gas, (c) base metals (the so-called "quartz mining" and "mineral" regulations), and in some areas (d) precious metals. The first regulations were passed in 1887, and have since then been repeatedly amended.

In most provinces, special federal-provincial agreements affect the ownership of mineral rights on reserves, or the use of revenue earned from them. Locate and obtain copies of these for reference.

- The haylands and timber on the reserve can be used by Band members with few or no formalities. However, timber rights can only be leased out to non-Indians by means of a surrender, in the same way as mineral rights. The Black River Band's timber was cut over in 1906 under such a timber lease. Special timber regulations, in force between 1887 and 1951, governed that transaction.

- The gravel, sand, and stone on the reserve can be used by Band members or sold to non-Indians without surrender. This is because these substances are not legally defined as minerals. Most Band Councils simply issue permits for specific amounts to people who apply to buy these resources.

- Water for irrigation has been subject to different laws in different parts of Canada ever since Confederation. For example, the Black River Band's dispute with the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1890s over the "expropriation" of its water for non-Indian use centred on the applicability of a Federal statute, the 1894 North-West Irrigation Act. In

other cases, provincial laws may apply. Surrenders, leases, or Band consent may be needed to allow on-reserve water to be used by outsiders. You may have to study local water law, or get the advice of a lawyer, to determine the proper procedure in your area.

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Checklist of documents for research on resources

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Surrender documents	The formal document (if any) in which the Band allows the Crown to lease out an on-reserve resource. Also any related papers, such as voters' lists, affidavits, maps, etc.
Permits or leases	Legal documents allowing outside companies or persons to exploit on-reserve resources.
The Indian Act and the regulations	The provisions of the Indian Act and the regulations that apply to the resource being researched, and that were in force at the appropriate time.
Other relevant laws	Any other applicable laws, including federal statutes, federal-provincial agreements, or constitutional documents, that affect on-reserve resources.
Financial records	Records, such as Trust Fund statements or special mineral or timber ledgers, that show how revenue from resources was banked or spent.
Technical reports	Any reports by professional evaluators as to the value and extent of the resources, or as to their proper administration.
Background	Records describing how surrenders, leases or permits were negotiated and made, how the resources were leased and managed, and where the resulting moneys went.

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Writing Your Report

When you have finished your research, make an outline of the report you want to write. If you are writing a general history of the Band's reserve land, you could use some or all of these headings:

- Before the Reserve was Created
- The Treaty and Land Rights (if you live in a Treaty area)
- How the Reserve was Chosen and Surveyed
- Legal Documents Setting Up the Reserve
- Later Changes to the Reserve (Additions, Surrenders, Cut-offs, Expropriations)
- Leasing (or) Land Use on the Reserve
- Resources on the Reserve

Use copies of important maps, documents and pictures to illustrate your final report.

If your work is intended to document a claim or to be used in discussions about land ownership, make sure that you identify the land clearly. Specify a map number, or give a legal description of the land, so that the other side knows what you are talking about.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for specific sources are:

DIAND Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).

PAC Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).

RG-10 Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).

Public Archives of Canada

RG-10: (a) General information on Indian reserve surveys and land transactions is scattered through RG-10 volumes 1 - 1854, in the Red and Black Series, the Agency Records and the new accessions. (INDEX: see PAC's general file lists and indexes to RG-10, and the computerized subject indexes to the Black and Red Series and the New Accessions, under the headings, "Surveys", "Land", "Reserves", "Rights of Way", "Expropriation", "Leases", "Locations", and "Individual Land Holdings", as well as under the names of particular Bands and reserves, and particular resources -- "Minerals", "Oil and Gas", "Timber", etc.). (b) Surveyors' instructions and final reports, if not found in the "field books", are usually in special survey files: look in the indexes under both the Band's and the surveyor's names. (c) General policy files -- see, e.g., the "Surveys and Reserves" policy files in RG-10 volumes 7748, 7764 and 7995 (INDEXES: same as above). (d) The "Blue Books" -- selections of policy and historical correspondence on land matters, c. 1700 to c. 1950, collected by G.M. Matheson and W.A. Orr (RG-10 volumes 10017-10031, organized by region and subject).

RG-2 series 1: (a) Orders-in-Council "confirming" reserves, and approving expropriations, leases and reserve surrenders, 1867-1977 (INDEX: by year and subject; consult the Register for the year desired, on shelves in the Federal Archives Division, under "Indian" or "Lands - Indians"). Earlier orders, mainly relating to Quebec and Ontario, are in RG-1 section "E", especially "E-8". (b) Orders-in-Council containing copies of regulations for resource administration on Indian reserves, including the "Indian Timber Regulations", and regulations relating to "Indian Minerals", "Indian Coal", "Indian Precious Metals", "Indian Quartz Mining" (including base metals), and "Indian Oil and Gas". Copies of some of these regulations may be found in (a) the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa, (b) RG-10 volumes 6813 and 8577 (Regulation drafting files), or (c) the Canada Gazette (Part II) for the month they were



Public Archives of Canada (continued)

proclaimed. The first set of Indian land, timber and mineral regulations (1887-88) were published on pages 163-207 of The Consolidated Orders in Council of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889). Later consolidations of 1955 and 1978 bring together some of the later versions and amendments. Regulations in force as of 1978 are also published in Contemporary Indian Legislation 1951-1978 (Ottawa: DIAND, Corporate Policy, 1981).

RG-15 (Department of the Interior): Files on the survey of specific reserves and settlements in western and northern Canada, 1870-1930. (INDEX: partial file list and various subject indexes, in particular the "Indian Reserve Applications" register in Aperture Card Set 200. See archivist for help).

RG-88 (Surveyor-General's Records): (a) Files on surveys or resurveys of specific Indian reserves and settlements, mainly in western and northern Canada, 1879-1950. (INDEX: detailed file list, by name of surveyor or reserve; also a subject list for 1881-1949 in volumes 406-421). (b) Policy files on reserve land, 1882-1945 (volume 299 file 0500 and volume 116 file 10131).

Other Record Groups: RG-1, RG-4, RG-5 and MG-11 all contain information on pre-Confederation Indian reserves, scattered throughout the records (INDEX: see PAC finding aids for each group; consult archivists for help).

National Map Collection: Maps of Indian reserves. This collection is a selection of originals from the larger collections held by DIAND's Legal Surveys Division and the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. (INDEX: see Maps of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the National Map Collection, Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1980, of which volumes I and II on British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces, the Yukon and the N.W.T. are now available. For other regions, consult archivists).

DIAND (Ottawa)

Indian Land Registry: The central register of all dealings with reserve lands in Canada. For each reserve, and for Crown lands held by Indian Affairs, it lists and holds copies of all primary legal documents (Orders-in-Council, surrenders, expropriation documents, easements, leases, location papers, etc.) (INDEX: by province and reserve. See fuller description on pages 252 and 310). A sample Abstract from the Registry is shown on page 60 of this handbook.

Legal Surveys Division: The Department's central collection of Legal Surveys maps of Indian reserves, settlements, and Crown Lands. It also includes special maps showing surrenders, locations, leases, and rights of way, and copies of surveyors' field books. (INDEX: by province and name of reserve/settlement. The maps are indexed in the so-called Canada Lands Survey Records (CLSR) on sheets listing all maps available for each reserve individually. Most of these maps are on microfiches taken from originals in the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Legal Surveys Division).

Central Registry Files: (a) General policy files relating to reserve surveys, leases, locations, expropriations, and other land and resource policy. (b) Land files for specific Regions and Bands. These are usually continuations of earlier files in PAC's New Accessions or Red and Black series. (INDEX: by subject and Band, District and Region. Consult the Treaties and Historical Research Centre.) Land matters are mainly in the file series coded 30-1 through 36-14; for example, "Reserve Land Policy, General" is file 1/30-1.\* See also the headings "Surveys and Reserves", "Rights of

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\* These codes are currently being replaced with a new numbering system, but can still be used to retrieve files. They are used here since they are more subject-specific, and thus more likely to produce the material needed, than the new codes.

(DIAND continued)

Way", "Leases", "Individual Land Holdings", "Islands" and other special files. Resources are mainly in the series 20-1 to 20-16; e.g., 1/20-1, "Natural Resources Policy -- General". (c) DIAND Program Circulars, "H" series: these are formal policy guidelines on various aspects of current land administration, 1978 to present. Circulars H-1 through H-5 and later issues are available from DIAND's Indian-Inuit Affairs Program, Lands Branch, Ottawa.

DIAND (Regional and District Offices): (a) Map collections, (b) Land Registry documents, and (c) Central Registry files. In all cases these collections are organized and indexed in the same way as the parallel series held in Ottawa. Few date earlier than 1930. (INDEX: consult the local office for details).

Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Legal Surveys Division (Ottawa):

(a) Originals of maps and field notes found in DIAND's Legal Surveys Division, described above. (b) Some files on surveys of Indian reserves across Canada, containing technical survey material dated mainly since 1930, occasionally with some older non-technical documents. (INDEX: consult the Division for further information).

#### Published Material

Legal Sources: Court cases on Indian lands up to 1978 are indexed in the Canadian Native Law Reporter (1978) volume 1(2) pages 30-46. Later cases are printed in current issues of the same magazine. Land provisions of the Indian Act and its predecessors since 1876 are reviewed in The Historical Development of the Indian Act (Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1978). Reserve land status under the British North America Act is discussed in W.B. Henderson, Canada's Indian Reserves: The Usufruct In Our Constitution (Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, 1980, also in

University of Ottawa Law Review (1980) vol. 12:167ff). Reserve establishment is discussed in R.H. Bartlett's "The establishment of Indian reserves on the Prairies" (Canadian Native Law Reporter (1980) no. 3 pages 3-56). Other legal reviews are listed below; see also the reference collection of the Native Law Centre of the University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon).

Government Documents: (a) The Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior (1872-1880) and of the Department of Indian Affairs (1880 to present) reprint surveyors' reports and other descriptions of Indian lands. (Source: Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers). (b) The most complete reference lists of Indian reserves across Canada are those known as the "Schedules of Indian Reserves". The first one printed was Schedule Describing Various Indian Reserves in Manitoba, Keewatin and the North-West Territories, 1877 (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch, 1877). More complete lists were printed, as the Schedules of Indian Reserves in the Dominion, in the Indian Affairs Annual Reports in the years 1897 to 1902, 1913, and 1928. Part II of the 1928 schedule was published as Schedule of Indian Reserves in British Columbia (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1943). A new Schedule of Indian Reserves and Settlements (Parts I and II), 2 volumes, was published in Ottawa by the Indian Affairs Branch in 1964-66. These early lists include now-extinct reserves and give other useful information on surveys. The most recent is the Schedule of Indian Reserves and Settlements (Ottawa: DIAND/Information Canada, 1972), which gives purported ownership, location, and size of existing reserves only. The Atlas of Indian Reserves and Settlements Canada 1971 (Ottawa: DIAND, Reserves and Trusts Group, 1978) shows reserve locations and sizes. The booklet Number and Acreage of Indian Reserves By Band (Ottawa: DIAND, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Reserves and Trusts Division, 1981) abridges and updates the information in the 1972 Schedule.

The Schedules can be used for general reference, but with caution, since they contain errors of varying importance as to the ownership, size, and names of the lands listed.

Background Reading: Little reliable historical material on the establishment and survey of reserves in Canada is available. There are no adequate general references on the history of such matters as expropriation, leasing, locations, or resource use. The best list of historical publications is Robert J. Surtees, Canadian Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1982). See also the summaries of policy in Peter Cumming and N.H. Mickenberg, Native Rights in Canada (2d edition, Toronto: General Publishing Co., 1972); William Henderson, Canada's Indian Reserves: Pre-Confederation (Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, 1980); and R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada", Ontario History (1969) volume 61(2): 87-98. Douglas Sanders' Legal Aspects of Economic Development on Indian Reserve Lands (Ottawa: DIAND, IIAP, Economic Development Section, c. 1976) and William H. Henderson's Land Tenure in Indian Reserves (Ottawa: DIAND, Indian-Inuit Affairs Program Research Branch, 1978) are useful administrative handbooks that discuss current reserve land administration problems (including Band and Crown powers, leasing, locations, and surrendered lands) from a constitutional and legal point of view. A small selection of reports on recent land use on reserves is listed in Land Use on Indian Reserves in Canada (Indian Reserve Forest Survey Report No. 34, Ottawa: Forest Management Institute, 1973). For an introduction to land survey techniques and law, useful in certain kinds of claims research, see R.W. Cautley, Descriptions of Land: A Textbook for Survey Students (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974) and Legal Principles and Practice of Land Surveying (Ottawa: Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1961).

Reviews of the history of reserve land in specific regions are found in the following:



British Columbia: Dennis Madill, Select Annotated Bibliography on B.C. Indian Policy and Land Claims (Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1982); Robin Fisher, "Joseph Trutch and Indian land policy", in: J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston, eds. Historical Essays on British Columbia (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1976) pp. 256-280; Robin Fisher, "An exercise in futility: the Joint Commission on Indian Land in British Columbia, 1875-1880" (Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers 1975: 79-94; T.M. Blake, "Indian reserve allocation in British Columbia", B.C. Perspectives (1973) 3:21-31; W.G. Foster, "British Columbia Indian lands", Pacific Northwest Quarterly (1937) vol. 28:151-162; Reuben Ware, The Lands We Lost: A History of Cut-Off Lands and Land Losses from Indian Reserves in British Columbia (Vancouver: Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, 1974) and Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law: the Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974).

Prairies: R.H. Bartlett, "The establishment of Indian reserves in the Prairie Provinces", Canadian Native Law Reporter (1980) no. 3 pp. 3-56; D.A. McQuillan, "Creation of Indian Reserves on the Canadian Prairies 1870-85", Geographical Review vol. 70(4): 379-396; John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977); J.L. Tobias, "Indian reserves in western Canada: Indian homelands or devices for assimilation", in: D.A. Muise, ed. Approaches to Native History in Canada (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, History Division Paper No. 25) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977, pp. 89-103.

Ontario: Charles H. Johnston, The Valley of the Six Nations (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1964); Peter S. Schmalz, The History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977); Robert J. Surtees, "Indian land cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: the evolution of a system" (Ph.D. thesis, Carleton University, 1982).

Quebec: Louise Villeneuve, The historical background of Indian reserves and settlements in the Province of Quebec (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, 1983); G.F.G. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada", Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française (1950) vol. 4: 178-210; Valerie Marchant, Toby Ornstein et al., The First Peoples in Quebec (3 volumes, La Macaza, Quebec: Thunderbird Press, 1973).

Maritimes: L.F.S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979); H.F. McGee, "White encroachment on Micmac reserve lands in Nova Scotia, 1830-1867", Man in the Northeast (1974) Volume 8, pages 57-64; D.M. Hurley, Report on Indian Land Rights in the Atlantic Provinces (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1962); Marie W. Laforest, "Indian land administration and policy in the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) to 1867", unpublished paper, Office of Native Claims, Contract ONC-78-6, September 1978; available from the DIAND Library, Ottawa.

Two outdated but historically useful outlines of reserve mineral rights and administration are: Petroleum From Indian Lands (Ottawa: DIAND, 1967) and William J. Worrall's Study and Recommendations For the Development of the Mineral Resources on Indian Reserves in British Columbia (Unpublished report, DIAND, Vancouver, June 1967). Recent material on the Indian Oil and Gas Act of 1974, and on native positions as to resources, is available in native research collections and in current DIAND minerals files (both in Ottawa and in the "West" and "East" minerals administration offices in Calgary and Toronto). Water rights material is also widely scattered in legal collections across Canada; one of the few published papers is R.H. Bartlett, "Indian water rights on the Prairies", Manitoba Law Journal (1980-81) vol. 11(1) pp. 59 ff.

For the history of United States Indian reserve lands, see Imre Sutton's Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1975) and Francis Paul Prucha's Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

## RESERVE GENERAL REGISTER

PROVINCE ONTARIO RESERVE NAME AND NUMBER OF RESERVE 135  
 AGENCY NAME OF AGENCY NAME OF BAND DATE ESTABLISHED  
 AUTHORITY TREATY OR OTHER AUTHORITY ROYAL PROCLAMATION - FEB. 1/1854 ORIGINAL SURVEY PLAN 53192, 1854  
ESTABLISHMENT OF RESERVE 135  
GENERAL REMARKS The area of this Reserve is not recorded on existing Survey Plans.

ITEM NO.	INSTRUMENT	NUMBER	DATE	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	LAND	ACRES	PRESENT AREA	FILE NO.	REMARKS
1.	Order-in-Council	6495-207	Jan. 31 1853	Crown/Crown Land Dept.	Whole of Reserve. See Plan 53192			RG.1., E3., Vol. 46	Authorizes Surveyor Dennis to deviate in some cases from the strict letter of the Treaty with reference to the extent and limits of the Reserves. Chief [---] and his band asked for [---] Island in exchange for "a tract of land, 4 mi. sq., on the main shore opposite [---] Island", allotted to them by the Treaty.
2.	Royal Proclamation	4515-1330	Feb. 1 1854	Province of Canada to Crown	Whole of Reserve. See Plan T-256	19,000			The provisions of Sections 10, 11, and 12 of an "Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition and the property occupied by them from trespass and injury" Reg. #9700 extended to land occupied.
3.	Surrender No. 164	10949 D	Sept. 24 1871	[-----] Band/Canada	Whole of Reserve. See Plan T256				Surrendered merchantable timber to be sold by the Department for the benefit of the Indians.
4.	Band Council Resolution	11094.9	Mar. 28 1877	[-----] Band/Canada	Church site and Graveyard at East end of [---] Island, about 3/4 mi. from ship Channel in the South	5.0		RG10, File 8034	Appropriates a location of a Methodist Mission, 4 acres allotted for the church and residence and 1 acre for a Graveyard. See letter attached for details.
5.	Surrender No. 2113	10950	Oct. 9 1895	[-----] Band/Canada	Railroad right-of-way, plus land for ballast and terminus. See Plan R.R. 597	314.25		159,975	Surrenders land for sale to [---] Railway. See items 6, 7, 26 and 27.

## AN ABSTRACT FROM THE RESERVE GENERAL REGISTER

This register is located in the Indian Land Registry (Lands Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, DIAND). It lists all major land transactions (and some resource transactions) on every Indian reserve in Canada. The page shown here is an "old-format" abstract, now being replaced by a similar but less detailed computerized system. The earlier abstracts will, however, remain available for research. Note that information in the Register is inaccurate or incomplete in places; use it for general reference, but not as the sole source for legal documentation.

## RESERVE GENERAL REGISTER: NOTES

General Information

1. Authority. The Treaty, agreement or other legal right under which the reserve was originally established.
2. Title Deed. The document or act establishing, confirming or otherwise defining title to the reserve.
3. Date Established. The date the reserve was established, usually the date of the document named in note 2.
4. Original Survey. The date, plan, and/or specifications of the original legal survey of the reserve.
5. Original Area. The size of the reserve when first surveyed. (This figure is often unknown or undetermined).
6. General Remarks. Any relevant historical background.

Special Documents

7. "Instrument" column. States type of document in each case.
8. "Number" column. Gives current registration number of each document. (This can be used to order copies from the Registry).
9. "Date" column. Gives date of each original document.
10. "Grantor/Grantee". States who is transferring rights to whom in each transaction.
11. "Land" column. Briefly describes land involved in each transaction. (Sometimes refers to a Legal Survey Plan number which can be used to locate related maps in DIAND's Legal Surveys collection).
12. "Acreage" columns. Acreage involved in the transaction, and new total size of reserve thereafter, if known.
13. "File" column. Locations of other records relating to the transaction. All three references in this abstract are to files in the Public Archives of Canada (the first to Record Group 1, and the others to Record Group 10, Red Series, although the necessary volume numbers have been left out). This column has been omitted from the new-format abstracts.
14. "Remarks" column. Other facts relating to the transaction, and references to associated matters.
15. Legal Surveys Plan numbers: See remarks in note 11.
16. Surrender number. Old registration numbers which can be used to locate either the original surrender documents in the Public Archives of Canada (RG-10 volumes 1840-1853) or the reprints in Indian Treaties and Surrenders (3 volumes, Toronto: Coles, 1971). The latter book covers treaties and surrenders for the period 1680-1902 (numbers 1-483) only.



THE SIGNING OF A TREATY

Since non-Indians first came to Canada, over fifty separate Treaties have been made between Canadian Indian peoples and the British Crown.\* Some of these were signed by only one or two Bands, and others by up to twenty or more different groups at a time. Today, a little over half the Indian people in Canada belong to groups that have signed Treaties with the Crown.

The solemn agreements that we call "Treaties" are of two kinds. Some are agreements which refer mainly to peace, friendship or alliance between the Treaty-makers. Others have written terms that refer mainly to the giving up of land, and to the granting of other specific rights (such as reserves, hunting rights, specific goods, and money) in return. Some early "surrenders" (agreements by which Indian Bands give up existing reserve land to the Crown) are very similar to Treaties.

Treaties "of peace and friendship" have been signed in the Maritimes, southern Quebec, Ontario, and Vancouver Island. Treaties whose texts mention land and specific rights (which often also include "peace and friendship" promises) have been signed by Indian peoples of the Maritimes, Ontario, the Prairie provinces, northeastern British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories. People often disagree as to which kind of agreement a particular Treaty may be.

Many people in Canada, both Indians and others, wish to know how Treaties came about. Treaties are important parts of Canadian history, and are political events of great complexity. They interest all who wish to understand relations between Indians and non-Indians, and in particular to

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\* The few Canadian Treaties not made with the British monarch include: a Treaty between the French Crown and the Five Nations in the Montreal area in 1680; the Treaties between the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and the colony of Massachusetts in 1776; the agreement between the Hurons of Lorette and the Jesuit Order in 1794; and the series of Treaties between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Vancouver Island Bands between 1850 and 1854.

understand why special Treaty rights still exist in some form today. These rights include rights to reserve land, hunting and fishing rights, Treaty annuity moneys, federal government support for schools, and certain specific goods and supplies for farming, hunting and ceremony. Some people claim that other general rights are also protected by Treaty, such as forms of Indian government and Indian status, free medical care and other social services, and government-funded economic development. People disagree as to whether or not this is true, but everyone does agree that these subjects should be studied.

This part of the handbook describes research on the actual negotiation and signing of a Treaty. The next section examines how the Treaty was carried out.

Each Treaty is unique in some way; thus it is hard to be specific or to give examples that will be useful to all researchers. I will describe the steps leading to the signing of a "typical" Treaty, and will state the kinds of questions that can be asked at each step. These cover the events leading up to the Treaty; the intentions of the Treaty-makers; the meetings and negotiations, and the signing of the Treaty; the text of the Treaty and related legal documents; and how each side understood the agreement.

Once you have answered these questions, you will have a good picture of how the Treaty came to be. You will understand more about what it meant to both Indian and white treaty-makers. You can then go on to research the carrying out of the Treaty's promises.

### Finding Evidence

It is important to get as many reports of a Treaty negotiation as you can. Each witness will give you a different picture of the event. Study these accounts and use them to decide what was really said and done. Your account of the Treaty will then be more complete and true to life.

1-800-960-0844  
 1-800-960-0844  
 1-800-960-0844

# INDIAN TREATIES

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CANADA

Where do you look for reports on the Treaty? Most people start either by reading official government reports, or by interviewing people (Indian or white) who have stories about the event. The government officials who negotiated the Treaty almost always wrote reports to Ottawa describing what went on. The Indian treaty-makers often also wrote letters, commentaries or petitions concerning the Treaty. These will be scattered throughout government files, sometimes in unexpected places. Look also for reports by missionaries, traders, soldiers, settlers or police officers who witnessed the meeting. These may be in widely separated archival collections.

Some witnesses do not record their stories about a Treaty until many years after the event. Even then, they may give a detailed and accurate account. But it may also be changed by time, the passing of the story from one person to another down the years, or the hopes and wishes of the person who tells it. Be aware of this. Always compare the evidence of each witness with that of others. This will help you not only to find out what happened, but also to understand why there is more than one way of looking at a Treaty.

#### 1. Events leading up to the treaty

Indians and non-Indians have come into contact -- or into conflict -- with each other. Who are these people? What are their relations to each other and to the land resources?

You would first describe the Indian people as they were before the Treaty. State who they are, how they live, and what territory they live in and use. Describe their relations with Indian neighbours, and with non-Indians.

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OPPOSITE PAGE: Map showing approximate areas covered by the numbered Treaties, the Ontario Treaties, and territory exempted from the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Since some of the boundaries shown are undefined or disputed, this map should be used for general reference only. For detailed maps of the southern Ontario pre-Confederation Treaty areas, see Robert J. Surtees, "Indian land cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: the evolution of a system" (Ph.D. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1982).

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Describe, too, the non-Indians in the area at the time of the Treaty. Are they explorers, fur traders, military men, missionaries, settlers, prospectors, or government employees? State what they are doing there, and what their relations are with Indian people.

Then tell the story of the events that bring on the meeting. These could include wars, trade problems, famines, and epidemics, or invasion by developers, prospectors, or settlers.

## 2. The intentions of the treaty-makers

A formal meeting is arranged between Indians and whites. Why is it called? What does each side think it will get out of the meeting?

You would discuss the views of each party (Indian and white). They have agreed to meet, but what do they hope to achieve? Find evidence showing what each side wants. They may simply want peace, law, and order. They may want specific practices stopped. They may want information, trade, a military alliance, economic aid, or all of these things.

Land and resources (mineral, timber, and water rights) are a very important part of many Treaty meetings. Find out if either side wanted to discuss them. Was either party interested in taking over or giving up ("ceding") land or resources? If so, in return for what?

Look for speeches, letters or documents of the time that show the concerns of the Indians or whites involved.

## 3. The negotiation and signing of the Treaty

The meeting takes place. There is some ceremony and much talk. Both sides come to an agreement. How does this happen?



List the groups present at the meeting, and name their spokesmen. Quote the speeches made by people on both sides. Try to find out exactly what subjects were discussed, and what "deals" were made, by whom, and on whose behalf.

Describe how the final deal was made. If either side did not express their full views at the meeting, point this out. Was force used, or the threat of force? Was the negotiation marked by ceremonies or formalities, such as military displays, presentations, dances, or pipe ceremonies?

Describe the actual signing of the Treaty document. Who signed, and how?

Finally, find out if there was any Indian group who should have been there, but was not. Why not? Did they sign later? There were often "late" signings of Treaty, or "adhesions", by individual Bands or families. Bands who "adhere" to a Treaty after it has been negotiated sometimes simply sign a document agreeing to abide by the Treaty's terms. Separate Treaty meetings may have been held to discuss these adhesions. Describe them.

#### 4. The text of the Treaty

The written Treaty -- the actual document signed at the meeting -- lies in the archives today. What does it look like? What does it say? What other legal documents affect it?

Go to the original, written text of the Treaty -- the document that was actually signed -- and study it, or a good photocopy of it. List the things it mentions, one by one. Compare the original Treaty document, word for word, with later copies or printed versions. Note any differences between the two.

# Upper Canada

1827  
June 1st

To all to whom these presents may come greeting Whereas the Principal Chiefs Warriors and People of the Chippewa Nation of Indians being desirous for a certain consideration hereafter shown of settling and disposing of certain Lands known by the name of the Island of St Joseph and also by the name of Barabens Island and in the Chippewa Language by the name of Ojibowagewin situated lying and being in that Island which joins the Lakes Superior and Huron and is by estimation two hundred and twenty English in extent for and in the name more or less unto the Britannic Majesty King George the Third our Great Father Now know ye that with the said Principal Chiefs Warriors and People of the Chippewa Nation for and in consideration of the sum of Twelve hundred Pounds Lawful Money of Great Britain according to the Month and persons allowed to us the receipt whereof we have acknowledged I have given granted sold disposed of and confirmed and by these presents do give grant sell dispose of and confirm for and unto His Majesty King George the Third our Great Father and Deputy Inspector General of Indians and of their affairs for and on behalf of the said Britannic Majesty King George the Third the said Islands and every part of that Island known and called as aforesaid by the name of the Island of St Joseph and also by the name of Barabens Island and in the Chippewa Language by the name of Ojibowagewin to have and to hold the said Islands and every part and parcel thereof together with all the Woods and Waters thereon situate lying and being within the said Kingdom of Great Britain for and on behalf of the said Britannic Majesty King George the Third his Heirs and Successors for ever free and clear of and from all claims rights pretences and demands to which we the said Chiefs Warriors and People of the Chippewa Nation might have before the execution of these presents And free and clear of any pretences claims and demands which our Heirs and Successors may hereafter make to the same Lands by purchasing and for ever discharging ourselves and Heirs and Successors and posterity of all debts to the said Islands and the said Woods and Waters thereof in favor of the said Majesty King George the Third and on behalf of the said Britannic Majesty His Heirs and Successors for ever In Witness whereof we have signed these at this said City of Quebec in and upon the said Island hereby given granted sold disposed of and confirmed as aforesaid these presents and the rest of our Letters Brevets and our marks and seals this Third (ie the 3rd) day of June 1827 in the 6th year of our said Majesty King George the Third our Great Father and signifying right having first heard the said Nation in their own Language and fully appeared by ourselves and our Nation

Witness my hand and seal this 3rd day of June 1827

33 22

Witnesses present at the execution of the Instrument  
John P. Oland }  
Daniel (name) }  
Pilot Dominant Capt of Batt of 6 V Commanding  
Lt James G. B. 1827  
H. James Esq of Batt of 6 V  
George (name) Esq Royal Engineer  
John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq

John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq  
John (name) Esq

Indian names and drawings:  
Hogwalakum sigelkum  
Dannina  
Ojibowagewin  
Hawakow  
Sagony  
Shewagewin  
[Drawings of various Indian figures and symbols]

If the Treaty relates to land, look at the boundaries of the area which the Treaty says it covers. Look at any maps attached to the Treaty. Do they correspond with each other, and with the territory that the Indian signers of the Treaty actually used?

Study every signature or "mark" on the Treaty. (For more information on Treaty signatures and "X" marks, see Appendix 1 in Volume 2 of this book, under "Mark", "Seal", and "Treaty".) Find out the name of each person who signed - that is, Indian spokesmen, white officials, and any "witnesses". Whom did each person speak for?

Look for any important documents attached to the Treaty, such as:

- o documents authorizing and ratifying the Treaty. (Sometimes formal papers — Royal instructions, Orders-in-Council or others — are issued to authorize an official to make a Treaty, or to set its terms. After the Treaty is made, another document may be issued to formally accept or "ratify" it);
  - o later "adhesions" to the Treaty by individual Bands;
  - o lists of goods given to the Indian side by the Crown (as presents or supplies) and lists of other government expenses;
  - o lists of reserve land chosen by the Bands;
  - o lists of other special terms; and
  - o documents changing the terms of the Treaty at a later date.
- (An example is the attachment to Treaties 1 and 2 in Manitoba, recording "outside promises").

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OPPOSITE PAGE: Original text of Treaty No. 11, signed on 30 June 1798, by which the Chippewa (Ojibwa) of the Sault Ste. Marie area surrender St. Joseph's Island (Cariboux Island or Payentanassin) to the Crown. The Treaty text refers to a consideration of 1200 pounds, Quebec currency, in goods. The Indian spokesmen have signed at right with their totems (family or clan symbols). The government Treaty Commissioners, and various military and Indian witnesses, have signed at left. The remains of legal seals can be seen opposite the main signatures. (SOURCE: PAC, RG-10, volume 1841, item 11).

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A typical set of "numbered" Treaty documents could be made up of the following: (a) an Order-in-Council authorizing the Commissioners to make the Treaty, and perhaps another Order appointing the Commissioners; (b) the written text of the Treaty; (c) lists of the Bands dealt with; (d) accounts of general expenses; (e) an official report by the Commissioners, describing the negotiation of the Treaty; (f) an Order-in-Council ratifying the Treaty agreement; and (g) the first annuity payroll, listing people who received annuity and gratuity moneys as tokens of their agreement to Treaty. Pre-Confederation Treaties may include only some of these documents.

##### 5. The understanding of the Treaty

An agreement has been made and formally recorded. What did it mean to each of the two sides? Was there a "meeting of minds" on any subject, or on the Treaty as a whole? If each side understood the Treaty in a different way, how exactly did they differ?

Compare the written Treaty with the discussions held before or during the Treaty meetings. Do they express the same intentions?

First, find out if anything happened to make the treaty-makers change their plans between the time that the meeting was first proposed, and the actual signing of the agreement. For example, there may have been events in between that influenced one or both sides, such as wars, famines, epidemics, invasions of white settlers, or the discovery of new resources.

Second, look for evidence that the treaty-makers did (or did not) understand each other at the meeting. Did they hold the same views about war or peace, about trade, or about land? If not, how did their views differ? Point out any evidence that misunderstanding was caused by language problems or bad translation by interpreters.

Be specific. Whenever possible, quote the exact words of the people involved, or use reports written at the time of the meeting. Try to determine what people on each side actually did and thought, as well as what the other side imagined they did and thought. List the facts that lead you to your answer.

Finally, whose understanding is expressed in the written version of the Treaty? Is it that of the white treaty-makers, or the Indian treaty-makers, or parts of both? List the facts, point by point, that lead you to your answer.

Do not overlook any "outside promises"; that is, solemn undertakings made by one side or the other which were not put into the written agreement. Look for these in the reports on the Treaty negotiations, or in later correspondence between Indian spokesmen and the government, or in the memories of elders. List these promises and, if you can, explain why they were not written into the Treaty.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for specific sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, current Central Registry Files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).



Public Archives of Canada

RG-10: (a) Copies of original Treaty documents and adhesions, 1680-1956, organized by date and registration number. (RG-10 volumes 1840-1853. Some of the "Treaties" missing from the series are actually surrenders, copies of which are available in DIAND's Indian Land Registry). (b) Indexes and files, cataloguing Treaties and listing related material, mainly on pre-Confederation Treaties (RG-10 volumes 660-662, 766-768, and 8595 file 1/1-11-17). (c) General reports, correspondence and other documents relating to the pre-Confederation Treaties, scattered throughout volumes 1 to 1854 of RG-10. (INDEX: see the "green inventory" to RG-10 and other special finding aids in the Federal Archives Division, PAC). (d) General reports, background material and other documents relating to the Robinson Treaties of 1850, the "numbered Treaties" and other Treaties after Confederation, scattered throughout the Red and Black Series and the New Accessions. (INDEXES: see PAC's computerized subject indexes to these groups. Examples of files relating to various Treaties after 1867 can be found in RG-10 volumes 2328-2332, 3604, 3608, 3613, 3621, 3624, 3636, 3848-49, 4005, 4006, 4009, 4042, and 8594-95). (e) General DIA policy files on Treaties, 1916-1956 (RG-10 volume 8594 file 1/1-11).

RG-1 section "E" and RG-2 series 1: Orders-in-Council authorizing and ratifying negotiations of Treaties (INDEX: by year and subject; see archivists for further information.)

Other Record Groups: Reports, background material and other documents relating mainly to the pre-Confederation Treaties, scattered throughout the military records (RG-8 and RG-9), the Colonial Office Records (MG-11), and related groups. (INDEXES: see archivists for further information).

Public Archives of Canada (continued)

National Map Collection: Official maps attached to Treaties, and various reference maps showing Treaty boundaries. (INDEX: the N.M.C.'s card catalogues, by region and subject. See also the lists prefacing each volume in the series Maps of Indian Reserves and Settlements in the National Map Collection (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1980-. Volumes I and II on the Prairies, the Territories and British Columbia are available to date).

DIAND (Ottawa)

Indian Land Registry: Originals and copies of a few early Treaties and related documents. The main collection is in the PAC, RG-10. (INDEX: by province, Band and date).

Legal Surveys Section: Copies of some maps attached to (or otherwise related to) Treaty areas, and general reference maps. On microfiche. (INDEX: by province.)

Central Registry Files: (a) General background material on recent Treaty adhesions by groups and individuals (mainly those after 1930) in the general land and membership files on particular Bands. (b) Policy files on Treaties and Treaty rights, mainly in the series 1/1-11 and 1/1-11-1 to 1/1-11-22. (INDEX: by subject and region. Consult the Treaties and Historical Research Centre for further information).

Program Reference Centre: Treaty annuity paylists. The earliest paylists for each Band show at least a partial list of Band members at the time the Treaty was signed; they also often indicate the names of leaders and give other important information. (INDEX: by Band).

Treaties and Historical Research Centre: (a) Copies of some original Treaties. (b) A wide variety of archival material on Treaties and Treaty rights. (c) Maps. (INDEX: by subject, or by Treaty and Band).

DIAND (Regional and District Offices)

Miscellaneous records: Duplicates of some of the material held in Ottawa in the Indian Land Registry and the Legal Surveys Section. Some offices may also have unique material on Treaty adhesions after 1930. (INDEX: by subject and region or Band).

Church Records

Background material and reports on Treaty negotiations at which missionaries were present. (See guide to the use of these records on pages 227 to 229 and 357 of this handbook).

Records in Other Archives

Many archives across Canada (such as those listed in Appendix 4 of this book) hold records relating to Treaties. For a subject index, see the Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975, and three Supplements dated 1976, 1978, and 1982).

Published Material

Treaty Documents: Copies of most of the Treaties have been published by Indian Affairs. Those for 1680-1903 are in: Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders (3 volumes, Toronto: Coles, 1971, originally published in 1905-1912.) The Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties (1850), the eleven "numbered Treaties" of 1871-1921 (with adhesions to 1956), and the Chippewa-Mississauga Treaties of 1923 are available in a series of fourteen booklets (Ottawa: DIAND, 1957-69), distributed free by DIAND if supply permits (tel. 1-819-997-0380). Note that most of these texts differ slightly from the originals, especially as to punctuation and the spelling of Indian signatories' names. Compare the original and published texts if possible.

Published Material (continued)

Background Material (Ethnology): For sources relating to conditions before the Treaties, see bibliographies and background materials listed on pages 18-21 and 197-210 of this handbook.

Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports (Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers.) These contain reports of most Treaty negotiations after 1870.

Background Material (Treaties): Much of the material published on this subject is listed in: Bennett McCardle, Canadian Indian Treaties in History, Politics and Law: An Annotated Reading List (Ottawa: Indian Association of Alberta, 1980; available from the Assembly of First Nations Library or the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Ottawa) and DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Select Bibliography on Canadian Indian Treaties and Related Subjects (Ottawa: DIAND, 1979). Material on American Treaties is listed in the McCardle bibliography and in F.P. Prucha's A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

The following can be used as basic readings on the history of Canadian Treaties, although none are fully up-to-date or comprehensive: Peter Cumming and Neil H. Mickenberg, Native Rights in Canada (2d edition, Toronto: General Publishing Co., 1972) pages 53-62 and 95-131; George Brown and R.G. Maguire, Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective (Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1979) which includes a detailed list and chronology of Canadian Treaties; Emerson S. Coatsworth, Treaties and Promises: Saukteaux Indians (Toronto: Ginn & Co., 1971); Richard C. Daniel, A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada 1867-1979 (Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, 1980); Richard Price, The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980); R.W. McInnes, "Indian Treaties and related disputes",

Published Material (continued)

University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review (1969) vol. 27: 52-72; and Robert J. Surtee's, "Indian land cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: the evolution of a system" (Ph.D. thesis, Carleton University, 1982).

As well as the histories of specific Treaties listed in the McCardle bibliography, essays by various authors are now available, or are forthcoming, on the histories of the Pre-Confederation Treaties of the Maritimes, British Columbia and Ontario, the Robinson Treaties, and Treaty 3. For copies, contact the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa.

For information on ceremonials connected with Treaties (such as gift-giving, medals and wampum) see Wilbur Jacobs, Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts... (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950); N. Jaye Fredrickson, The Covenant Chain: Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980); Melvill Allan Jamieson, Medals Awarded to North American Indian Chiefs 1714-1922 (London: Spink & Son, 1936); Francis Paul Prucha, Indian Peace Medals in American History (Lincoln/London: U. of Nebraska Press, 1971); U.V. Wilcox, "The manufacture and use of wampum in the Northeast", The Bead Journal (1976) vol. 3(1): 10-15; L. Ceci, "The value of wampum among the New York Iroquois...", Journal of Anthropological Research (1982) vol. 38(1):97-107; M.K. Foster, "The recovery and translation of native speeches accompanying ancient Iroquois - white treaties", National Museum of Man, Canadian Ethnology Service, Canadian Studies Report No. 5e (Ottawa, August 1978); and Richard Price, ed. The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979), especially articles by Foster and Taylor.



### CARRYING OUT TREATY PROMISES

Once a Treaty is signed, its terms must be carried out. By researching the specific promises made in Indian Treaties, you can check whether they have been fulfilled.

For example, a Band's reserves can be studied to see if they fulfill the Treaty's provisions as to land. Researchers can check to see if government controls on Indian hunting, fishing and trapping correspond to those mentioned in the Treaty. Records relating to Treaty annuity moneys, farm tools, livestock, schools, and other items supplied to the Band can be studied and compared with Treaty promises.

Remember that research of this kind does not deal with the broader question of what a Treaty is in law, and how it affects the aboriginal rights of those who sign it. But Indian people are often also concerned with specific Treaty promises. Claims based on these promises are still being made today.

#### 1. Reserve Land (Treaty Land Entitlement)

Reserve land was promised to many of the Indian groups who signed the Treaties. Some Treaties specify particular lands; others promise a certain number of acres per person. Some Treaties also limit the way in which the reserves can be disposed of, or state that reserve land can be expropriated for public purposes.

Some Treaties describe the specific reserve that the Band is to receive, by giving either an exact "legal description" of the reserve, or simply a general location and size. (In the latter case, the exact boundaries must be defined later by a surveyor.)

Other Treaties simply grant a certain number of acres of reserve land per person. The location of the reserve is chosen later, and is then laid out by a surveyor, in consultation with the Band.

In this case, the surveyor usually multiplied the number of people in the Band at the time of the survey by the number of acres per person specified in the Treaty. For example, Treaty Four mentions "one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families" (that is, 128 acres per person). The surveyor would multiply the number of people in a Treaty Four band by 128, and lay out a reserve of that many acres. In some cases he made the reserve larger to make up for poor-quality land, or to deal with special problems such as irregular natural boundaries or adverse claims by non-Indians.

How do you calculate entitlement today?

Unfortunately, the Treaties do not state which Band population must be used to calculate the size of the reserve. There are many possible positions on this point. Different people and groups today use widely differing formulas, including formulas based on the population in the year the Treaty was signed, the population in the year before the survey, the population at the time the survey was made, or any one of several "combination" formulas. Each is based on different legal and historical arguments. There is also disagreement over how to calculate the entitlement of bands that have received some, but not all, of the land due to them.

Finally, there is uncertainty over the following details:

- The kinds of reserve land to be counted towards the Band's entitlement (for example, where land is used for special purposes, or where the legal status of the land is uncertain).

- The sources to be used for population figures (such as Treaty paylists, censuses or other records) and how to interpret them in particular cases.
- Whether (and how) to count people who did not join the Band or sign Treaty until after the Band received its land.
- Whether a claim can be based on the fact that land was not granted according to the wishes of the Band (for example, land that is poorer in quality than the land asked for, or in the wrong place, or granted long after it was first asked for).
- Various other minor "technical" problems that interfere with the calculating of the size of the grant, or of the size of Band population.

Even if everyone decides that a particular Band has not received all the land due to it, they may still disagree over how much land it should get today. Indian groups from many Treaty areas are now negotiating these issues with the federal government.

#### Researching entitlement

If you are starting a project of this kind, try to consult with other researchers, Bands, or Indian organizations in your area who are familiar with these problems. They can tell you how they research cases, and can suggest ways to handle the political side of your work.

The Treaty land entitlement of a Band is researched in the same way as the history of a reserve, and you use the same sources. You could follow these steps:

Steps	Questions to ask
1. Determine the terms of the Treaty.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What was the exact wording of the written Treaty as to reserve land?</li> <li>• What was the exact wording of any other documents mentioning reserve land (especially promises made during actual treaty negotiations)?</li> <li>• Were any official instructions issued by the government or by Indian councils to the surveyors, describing the land wanted? Note: Look for statements as to the amount, quality, and location of land; how it is to be chosen, when and by whom; who is to own the resources on it; and how the land is to be surveyed or set aside.</li> </ul>
2. Describe the survey or selection of the land.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What was the date of the first selection of land by or for the Band?</li> <li>• What was the date of the first survey of land for the Band?</li> <li>• What happened before, during and after the selection and survey?</li> <li>• Who actually chose the land: was it a Band meeting, Indian leaders, the surveyor, or others?</li> <li>• How was the survey done? (Were lines marked on the ground by the surveyor? Was land selected using existing maps without a survey?)</li> <li>• Were there any opposing claims to the land, by non-Indian settlers, other government offices, corporations, or others?</li> <li>• If the survey was not finished, or if only part of the land was surveyed in one session, why? Was the survey finished later, and how? If the first choice was abandoned, what was it replaced with and why?</li> <li>• Were any changes made to the survey or survey papers (maps, notes, reports) after the survey was completed?</li> </ul>
3. Determine what entitlement formula was used.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the treaty grants entitlement land on an acres-per-person basis, what population figures were used to calculate the size of the reserve? (If records do not say, try to figure this out from other evidence.)</li> <li>• Where did the population figures used come from: were they from Treaty paylists, censuses, head counts, estimates, or other sources?</li> <li>• Was any extra land granted, and why? (For example, land for absent persons, to account for future population increases, to make up for poor land, or to replace land taken by non-Indian claimants.)</li> <li>• If not all the land was surveyed in one session, what formula was used at the second (or later) surveys?</li> <li>• Was the quality and location of the land (or the resources on it) taken into account when the land was chosen and surveyed?</li> </ul>

Steps	Questions to ask
4. Determine the status of the land.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Did the chosen land get reserve status?</li> <li>● Was it granted to the right Band? If not, why not?</li> <li>● Were any lands under water, roadways, rights of way, or any other special lands included in the calculation of entitlement?</li> <li>● Did the Band get rights to the resources on the land as well as to the land itself?</li> </ul>
5. Compare the terms of the Treaty with the Band's choice of land, and with the land they finally received.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Did the Band get the land to which they were legally entitled under the Treaty? If not, why not?</li> <li>● If it is not clear whether they did or did not get their full entitlement, what further facts do you need before you can answer the question?</li> </ul>

The documents you need to do an entitlement research project are the same as those outlined on pages 29 - 61 of this handbook, under "Reserve Lands and Resources". When you have answered as many of the questions as possible, you may then be able to determine if the Band has a legal claim to extra land under the Treaty today.

## 2. Hunting, Fishing and Trapping

The "numbered Treaties", and a few others, provide that Indian people have special hunting and fishing rights in the area surrendered by the Treaty. In some cases these are said to be subject to government control. They may cease to exist where certain kinds of settlement and development take place. The Canadian courts have made rulings on these rights many times since the 1870s. Still, in most regions the exact extent of these rights is not yet clear.

To determine whether the Treaty you are studying has been carried out, compare the Treaty's words with the restrictions actually applied to Indian hunting, fishing and trapping; that is, the provisions of current provincial, federal or constitutional game and fish laws that apply to Indian people. You will need the advice of a lawyer experienced in native law to tell you how the courts have dealt with this particular kind of claim in the past. For further information, see also pages 121 - 129 of this handbook.



### 3. Treaty Annuities and Other Treaty Moneys

Treaty annuities are small yearly payments, usually in cash, made by the Crown to every man, woman and child under certain Treaties. Some Treaties grant a specific number of dollars per person, sometimes with larger amounts for Chiefs and Councillors. Some pay a yearly lump sum to the Band as a whole. Annuities are considered to be "token" payments meant to seal the Treaty agreement, although their original purchasing power was much higher than it is now. Some Treaties also made a small one-time payment -- the "gratuity" -- to each person in the year he or she first took Treaty. Large one-time lump-sum payments were also made in a few Ontario Treaties before Confederation. The size of the annuities, gratuities, and lump sums varies from Treaty to Treaty.

Annuity payments for the Treaties signed in 1850 and after are recorded in yearly Band paylists ("Treaty annuity paylists"). These usually name every person or head of family in the group. These lists are often used as legal membership records for the Band, as well as being useful for research on Treaty promises concerning annuities and gratuities. The earlier the Treaty, however, the less regular and less standardized are its annuity records.

There have been important court cases relating to annuities. The texts of the court decisions in these cases discuss the government's legal obligations to pay the money, and describe actual payment practices.

### 4. Goods, Supplies and Stock

The numbered Treaties, and a few earlier agreements, promise that certain goods, supplies and livestock will be given to Indian Bands or their members under certain conditions. These usually include some

combination of farm implements, vehicles (buggies and wagons), horses, cattle, pigs, seed grain, cloth and clothing, and twine and ammunition for hunting. Amounts in some cases were limited to a particular cash value per year.

Indian Affairs records can sometimes be used to find out if these things were in fact supplied. Sometimes, however, no evidence can be found concerning a particular item. Thus, it is not always possible to prove whether or not Treaty promises have been fulfilled.

To make sure that you get all the evidence you need on this point, you may have to read a great variety of records relating to the overall finances of the Department and the day-to-day running of the Band, including Agency records, account books, and subject files on farming.

#### 5. Ceremonial Goods

Some Treaties promise particular ceremonial items, such as flags, medals, and special suits of clothes for the Chiefs. (These suits are sometimes called "triennial clothing" because they were, and still are, given out once every three years.) Indian Affairs keeps records in which these grants can be checked for some, if not all, periods of time.

#### 6. Schools

Some Treaties signed in western Canada state that the government will pay certain school costs, and/or teachers' salaries. The exact extent of the costs the Crown must pay is not yet clear. You can use the Department's many records on schools to find out approximately what it has paid for in the past, and what it is paying for now. You can also compare payments in Treaty areas with those in places not covered by Treaty promises.

## 7. Other Services

A few Treaties refer to special items such as medical care, aid in time of "famine and pestilence", and help in the establishment of farms. In other cases, matters of this kind were discussed in Treaty negotiations, but were not written into the Treaty text. What these promises mean is not yet clear, especially because they are often not confined to specific amounts of goods or types of service. Most researchers find that they need expert advice, both legal and historical, on these questions.

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for specific sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, RG-10).

Many of the sources for this section are the same as those listed in the previous section, "The Signing of a Treaty". See also records described elsewhere in this handbook on specific topics, such as "Reserve Land", "Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping", "Economic Development", and "Other Subjects" (health, schools, band government, and so on).

Detailed information on current Treaty land entitlement claims is available from Indian organizations in your Treaty area, and from the Office of Native Claims, DIAND, Ottawa.

Public Archives of Canada

RG-10: (a) General reports, background material and other documents on the pre-Confederation Treaties, scattered throughout volumes 1 to 1854 of RG-10. (INDEX: see the green inventory for RG-10 and special subject indexes for these volumes). (b) General reports and correspondence, relating mainly to post-Confederation Treaty provisions, in subject files in the Red and Black Series and the New Accessions. (INDEXES: see the new computerized subject indexes to the three series. Look under such headings as "Annuities", e.g. RG-10 volume 6878 file 1/28-3 (annuities policy, 1892-1954); Robinson Annuity claims before the Board of Arbitration, 1897-1901 (RG-10 volumes 2545-2547); and specific subject files on "Farming", "Cattle", "Horses", etc.) (c) Detailed descriptions of Agency business, including references to Treaty supplies, in Agency letter books and accounts (INDEX: see PAC's special list of Agency Records, Federal Archives Division, RG-10 Finding Aid No. 40).

DIAND (OTTAWA)

Central Registry Files: (a) General background and reports on Treaty fulfilment, under specific subject areas, mainly after 1900 (INDEX: by subject and region or Band). (b) Treaty policy files in the 1/1-11 series, which contain useful tabulations and background correspondence for each of the post-Confederation Treaties. (c) Treaty Land Entitlement policy files for Canada and each Region. (INDEX: consult the Treaties and Historical Research Centre for file numbers).

Treaties and Historical Research Centre: Background and policy files, and tentative tabulations of amounts of Treaty goods granted under the various Treaties. (INDEX: by Treaty and Band, or by subject).

DIAND, OTTAWA (continued)

Program Reference Centre: Treaty annuity paylists, which give Band populations annuity and gratuity accounts, and sometimes other information relevant to fulfilment of the Treaty promises.

Legal Surveys Section: Maps and related material used to determine the true size of reserves for Treaty Land entitlement calculations. (INDEX: by province and reserve).

Other Sources

Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs (in Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers): These give detailed background reports on the administration of Treaty provisions such as entitlement land and farm aid, since 1871. See the statistics on farming given in the "Tabular Statements" for the years 1875-1945. (These should, however, be used with caution.)

Financial Records: Records showing amounts of Treaty supplies rendered to particular areas or Bands can sometimes be found in departmental financial records, especially the itemized statements of supplies found in the Public Accounts statements and the Auditor-General's reports for part of the period before 1940. See the guide to these records on pages 113 - 120, under "Economic Development".

Background Reading: Papers on the implementation of various Treaties are listed in Bennett McCardle's Canadian Indian Treaties in History, Politics and Law (Ottawa: Indian Association of Alberta, 1980), pages 3-15. Reference and political papers on specific aspects of Treaty implementation are available from most Indian organizations in the Treaty areas, and in the library of the Assembly of First Nations (formerly National Indian Brotherhood) in Ottawa.



Court Records: Court decisions from 1880 to 1979 on the interpretation of Treaty promises are listed on pages 24-28 of the McCardle bibliography (above). More recent cases are reported in the magazine Canadian Native Law Reporter for 1979 to the present. The state of the law on Treaties (as of ten years ago) is well summed up in P. Cumming and N.H. Mickenberg, Native Rights in Canada (Toronto; 2d ed., 1972) pages 53-62 and 95-131, and in R.W. McInnes, "Indian Treaties and Related Disputes", University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review (1969) volume 27, pages 52-72.

SURRENDERS AND SALES OF RESERVE LANDS AND RESOURCES

Indian groups often ask questions concerning loss of reserve land and resources. These questions are common because many Indian reserves across the country have in fact been changed or cut down in size over the years. Many of these changes have been made by "surrender" -- that is, by a formal agreement between a Band and the federal government, in which reserve land is given up to the Crown for sale, or is exchanged for other land.\*

Likewise, outsiders cannot legally lease Indian reserve land or waters, or mine on-reserve minerals, oil and gas, or cut on-reserve timber, until the Band has "surrendered" these rights to the Crown. This process is almost always carried out in the same way as a surrender "for sale".

General rules for the carrying out of surrenders are said to have been first laid down in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and in various official colonial policy statements, "instructions", proclamations, and statutes at later dates. Since 1876, formal rules for surrenders have been embodied in the Indian Act. This states how the meeting is to be held, how those negotiating the surrender must act, how the vote is taken, and what documents are needed to approve and record it. Other parts of the Act (and related special regulations) govern how the land or resources are sold or leased. Finally, the Act states how the money earned from the surrender is to be banked and used for the benefit of the Band.

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\* From time to time other means have been used to cut off or take back reserve land, including special federal legislation, resumption by Order-in-Council, patenting to enfranchised Band members, suspension of the Indian Act's surrender provisions, and relocation of whole reserves under a special Indian Act amendment of 1911. There have also been the ordinary expropriations of rights-of-way or other small areas of reserve land for "public purposes". Special cut-off cases other than conventional surrenders should be studied each according to their own terms.

Because of oral traditions concerning land losses, and because of known patterns of irregularity in past surrenders, Indian Bands sometimes question the ways in which past surrenders have been carried out. They may research their surrenders in detail to find out why and by whom the surrender was proposed and authorized; what happened during the surrender negotiations; what happened later to the land, resources and money; and whether or not the surrender procedure was regular and legal.

At the base of every such project is the issue of just and legal treatment; that is, were the surrender and sales honest, fair, and properly managed according to the laws and customs of the time?

Here is the story of one surrender:

In June of 1905, the Indian Agent for the Ningotchi Agency reported to the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa that the Black River Band needed extra fencing and equipment to improve their farms and make them more "self-sufficient". They had no Band Trust Fund moneys. The Department replied that it did not wish to spend federal funds to do this, and that the Band ought to sell some of its land to finance the improvements. Ottawa also said that local non-Indian settlers had sent petitions to Ottawa asking that the reserve be sold. The Agent was formally instructed to negotiate a surrender and sale of all or part of the reserve, on whatever terms he could arrange, as long as it did not involve spending public money.

The Band met in July of 1905 to discuss the surrender. A vote was taken, and the Agent reported that a majority of those voting approved the sale of one-quarter of the reserve. (It is still unclear, however, exactly what understanding the Band had as to

the legal meaning of the surrender). Three special conditions were written into the agreement: (a) that the land be sold for at least \$5.00 per acre; (b) that a specific sum out of the sales proceeds be spent on buying fencing, farm implements, and livestock for Band members; and (c) that "interest" from the sales be given out in cash to Band members.

These terms were hand-written into the surrender document, a standard printed form supplied to the Agent by Ottawa. The final document was signed by the Agent, some of the voters, and some witnesses. The Agent and two leading men then went to a magistrate and swore a formal affidavit stating that the surrender had been carried out in certain specified ways, as required by the Indian Act.

The Agent mailed the surrender agreement and affidavit to Ottawa, with a short report describing the meeting. Department of Indian Affairs officials submitted the surrender to the Privy Council, which formally accepted it by Order-in-Council. The original agreement was filed in Privy Council records, and a duplicate was placed in the Indian Land Registry.

The Department then sent out a surveyor to divide up and value the land for sale by auction. (A few years earlier, the land might have been put up for sale by tender or by private negotiation with the local Indian Agent instead.) The auction was held in the spring of 1906. The land was sold to the highest bidders, parcel by parcel, the terms being one-fifth of the price in cash down, and the rest in four equal yearly instalments, with interest. Some land remained unsold,

and was later bought (at the "upset" or valuation prices) by people who contacted the Department privately. Some was never sold: when this was discovered in 1965, the land was returned to the Band by an Order-in-Council which re-established it as part of the reserve.

The money from each parcel was recorded in the Indian Affairs "Land Sales Books" in Ottawa. (At an earlier date, local or Agency account books would have been used.) When each buyer paid his or her debt in full, the Department of Indian Affairs issued a Crown grant (or "letters patent") for the land, and the land passed out of Indian and Crown control. Some buyers failed to make their payments on time, or made none at all. Some of these sales were cancelled. Others were overlooked for many years. Still others had the purchase price formally reduced by one of several different legal procedures.

The money paid by buyers was banked in the Band's Trust Fund, except for ten per cent put in a common "administration" account (the Indian Land Management Fund) and two sums given out in cash as "interest distributions" (as required by the surrender) in 1911 and 1913.

This surrender could have happened between 1876 and 1950. Surrenders at other times are somewhat different, because their historical context was not the same, and because surrender law and policy changed in important ways in 1876, 1914, and 1951. In particular, surrender law before 1876 was less detailed than that after 1876, and the administration of surrendered land sales tended to be confused when it was not irregular. In turn, the new Indian Act of 1951 was clearer and more detailed than previous Acts. Your research project will have to take account of these changes.



Researching a Surrender

You are researching the Black River surrender just described. Here are the steps you would follow:

1. Collect the basic facts. Find out the basic facts of your case, if you don't know them already. Interview any person who remembers the surrender, or who knows stories about it. Look for people who have old maps, documents or other papers relating to it. Find out where the surrendered land was, when the surrender took place, and what questions (if any) people have about it today. If possible, make a rough map of the reserve, showing the land you are interested in, and use it for reference.

2. Find the legal documents. Look for the legal surrender documents. You may find copies locally, at a Band Council office, at the research office of your local Indian organization, or in the provincial archives. In most cases, however, you will have to look in files of the Department of Indian Affairs at its Regional or Ottawa offices, or in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. The number of legal documents varies, depending on the date of the surrender, but for most surrenders after Confederation you will find:

- the original surrender agreement;
- the original surrender affidavit;
- the Order-in-Council accepting the surrender (an example is shown on page 103 of this handbook);
- any legal documents attached to the surrender, such as maps, voters' lists, secondary surrenders, and leases; and
- any office or duplicate copies of the surrender to compare with the original. (Make sure that you know which is the original and which is a later copy.)

3. Look up the Indian Act's surrender provisions. Get a copy of the Indian Act that was in force at the time the surrender was taken. Make absolutely sure it is not a later or earlier version. Find the sections describing how a legal surrender must be taken, and how reserve lands must be sold. Copy them for reference.

Find copies of any special regulations made under the Indian Act that affect the surrender and sale. Examples are the Indian Land Regulations of 1887-1951, the Indian Timber Regulations of 1887-1951, or the various Indian Mineral/Quartz Mining/Coal Mining/Oil and Gas/Precious Metals Mining Regulations (1887 to present). Make sure that these, too, are the ones in force when the surrender was taken.

4. Research the negotiation of the surrender. Explain how and why the surrender took place. First, look in the archives for descriptions of the surrender meeting itself. How was it called? Who was there; who spoke for the Band, and who for the government? Describe what was said, and try to determine if everyone understood the discussion. If there were disagreements, find out what was done about them. Were those present influenced in any unusual way? If the surrender took place before 1876, ask what leaders agreed to the surrender, and what authority did they have to do so? If the surrender was after 1876, how many people voted for and against the surrender? Were they all qualified to do so? Were all the surrender documents made out in the proper way?

Second, study the facts surrounding the surrender meeting. Can you explain why the surrender was proposed in the first place, and by whom? If the Band approved it, what reasons did they have for doing so? Did the government have special reasons for wanting the surrender? Did any other "outsiders" (traders, missionaries, settlers, land speculators, politicians, or others) have an interest in preventing or encouraging the surrender? If the surrender was supposed to be in the Band's "best interests", what reasons are there to believe that it was or was not so?

You will need to do a lot of research to answer these questions fully. Sometimes you may not be able to find the facts you need. For example, the Agent who took the Black River surrender in 1905 did not record exactly how many people voted for and against the surrender, nor who they were. Thus we cannot tell whether a majority really did approve it. Likewise, you may not find any evidence to explain why people petitioned Ottawa asking for the surrender. But you should be able to find enough facts to deal with some of your questions.

You may also have to do special research to settle certain technical questions. For example, you may have to study Band membership lists, family trees, or Treaty paylists to find out whether those who voted on a surrender were old enough to do so. You may have to study maps, farming files, and other records to find out if the voters all lived close enough to the reserve to satisfy the "residence" requirements of the Indian Act.

5. Research the land sales. If the surrender led to a sale of the land, research and document the way in which the surrendered land was sold.

Land sales practices in the Department of Indian Affairs have varied widely over the 150-odd years since the government made its first sale. Before 1876, there were no specific guidelines governing how sales were made, and no standard system of land sales records. The documents and accounts describing the sales are often scattered and incomplete. Records after 1876 are more uniform and detailed. They consist of land sales files (mainly in the Public Archives of Canada) and indexed sales ledgers with related documents and accounts (mainly in the Department's Indian Land Registry in Ottawa). The few sales made since the 1960s are usually managed by and recorded in Regional or District offices.

Detailed land sales research often takes a long time. But it is worthwhile, because you may turn up new facts relating to the surrender itself, and because it helps you to account for all the money due to the

Band under the surrender. Detailed work also helps to detect the many mistakes and irregular practices that we know occurred in Indian Affairs land sales administration in the period between about 1820 and the Second World War.

A good way of keeping track of land sales is to set up a card file. Make up one note card for each separate piece of land sold. Write on it the land description, the number and date of the sale, the buyer, the price, the date and number of the patent, and any other special terms of sale. You may include the number of instalments that were called for, and the number actually paid; the way in which interest was calculated, both in theory and practice; any special settlement duties or timber restrictions imposed on the buyer; documents by which the original buyer passed or "assigned" his land to another person, and the numbers of any correspondence files relating to that particular sale.

After setting up the card file, mark each sale on your reference map of the surrendered area. List all land that remains unsold. Keep a record of any unusual happenings, such as squatters' claims, quarrels over title to surrendered lands, overall changes in sale terms, repossession from defaulting buyers, ownership of mineral rights on sold lands, and payments for Indian improvements on sold lands.

6. Research land, mineral or timber leases. Research these in the same way as you would research a land sale. There should be special files on these subjects, or at least traces of files. (Many resource records were destroyed by the Department earlier in this century because it considered them to be "routine" material.) Look for the special regulations, in effect from 1887 onward, that govern how minerals and timber are to be leased and paid for.

7. Research the "implementation" of the surrender. Find out whether the terms of the surrender were properly carried out. For example, if you were researching the Black River surrender, you would do the following:

- Study Band trust fund statements to see that all land payments due to the Band were banked in their account.
- Compare these same statements with the special records of interest distributions, to see if the interest payments promised in the surrender were made.
- Check the land sales revenue totals, to see if the sales realized the \$5.00 per acre specified in the surrender.
- Find general files on Band farming, livestock, fencing, and related matters, to see if the promised supplies were provided. Cross-check these with the trust fund records. (In some cases you may have to read a wide variety of Agency and other records to deal with this problem.)
- If some of the surrendered land remained unsold, find out what its status is today, what it is being used for, and by whom.

If the surrender involves the exchange of one piece of land for another, check that the Band received the land specified in the agreement. If the surrender was ever invalidated or revoked, find out why, and what happened to the land involved.

8. List unanswered questions. There will probably be questions that you cannot answer, because you cannot find the facts. Other questions can only be answered by professionals such as lawyers, surveyors, or accountants. List them for further thought.

9. Collect your findings. Put all your notes, documents, maps and other material together in an orderly way. Read it all over once again. Think about what you wish to say. Get any professional advice you may need.



10. Write your report. Make a short outline of what you want to say and write your report. You could use headings like these:

- The Band Before the Surrender (its livelihood, reserve lands, and relations with non-Indian neighbours and the government)
- The Surrender (proposals, meetings, and the surrender vote)
- The Surrender Documents (date, description, and written terms)
- Carrying Out the Land Sale, Land Lease, or Resource Lease
- Carrying Out the Terms of the Surrender
- Unanswered Questions and Other Problems
- Conclusions.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian-Inuit Affairs Program: current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).

#### Public Archives of Canada

RG-10: (a) General files containing information on pre-Confederation surrenders. (INDEX: the RG-10 "green inventory" and other finding aids; see archivists for help). (b) Subject files on all aspects of post-Confederation surrenders, including background, negotiations, land sales, and carrying out of terms. (INDEXES: computerized subject indexes to the Red (Eastern) and Black (Western) Series and to the New Accessions. File reference lists in the Indian Land Registry's "Land Sales Books". File reference lists in Matheson's index, RG-10 new accession 76-7/124, Box 2, File 9.)

Public Archives of Canada (continued)

Agency records: These often give special background information on surrenders and their implementation. (INDEXES: general lists of Agency records in RG-10 Finding Aid No. 40; see archivists for guidance).

Trust Fund Ledgers and related records: See page 113 of this handbook ("Economic Development and Finances") under "Trust Funds".

Original surrender documents: Originals of some of the earliest surrenders are in RG-10 volumes 1840-1853. Most of these are also indexed or copied in the Indian Land Registry (see below).

RG-2 series 1: (a) Copies of original Orders-in-Council accepting surrenders, dated 1867 to the present. Attached to these are the original surrender documents and related papers. Earlier Orders are available in Record Group 1, section E. (b) Copies of Orders and Regulations governing land sales, sales interest rates, and trust fund management. Some of these have also been published in the Canada Gazette Part II for the appropriate year. The first Indian Land Regulations were enacted by Order-in-Council P.C. 2084 of 26 October 1887, and were consolidated with the Indian Timber Regulations by P.C. 1787 of 18 September 1888. These were amended periodically thereafter until they (presumably) lapsed at the passing of the new Indian Act in 1951. Various timber and mining regulations have been passed from the early 1890s up to the present. There is no complete reference list of these regulations, but see references on pages 51-53 and 266 of this handbook.

Other Records: Various records on pre-Confederation surrenders and land sales are scattered throughout RG-1, RG-4, RG-5, RG-8, RG-9, MG-11, and the papers of politicians and private persons in many

Public Archives of Canada (continued)

other record and manuscript groups. A complete collection of patents issued on sold surrendered Indian lands is in PAC, RG-68 (Registrar-General's Records). (INDEXES: see archivists for guidance).

National Map Collection: The Department of Indian Affairs' original "land sales maps" -- reference maps annotated with names of buyers, sales file numbers and other information -- are in the Map Collection's Accession No. RG-10M, 76703/9. (INDEXES: see the Collection's map archivists).

DIAND (Ottawa)

Indian Land Registry: Originals or duplicates of most surrender agreements, affidavits, Orders-in-Council, and legal attachments to surrenders. The Registry's "Land Sales Books" give file references, sale terms, accounts and other information for all land sales after 1876 and some sales between 1840 and 1876; there are also associated records of assignments, patents, etc. (INDEXES: See reference on page 252 of this handbook). Note that the true original of a land surrender document should be found either here or in PAC, RG-2 series 1.

Legal Surveys Section: Legal maps of surrendered Indian lands. (INDEX: map lists, broken down by province and name of reserve. Surrender maps are interfiled in this collection).

Program Reference Centre: Band Membership lists, Treaty paylists, interest distribution paylists, and related census information. These are used to research surrender votes and finances. (INDEXES: see description of these records under "Indian Status, Membership and Family History", pages 130 to 149 of this handbook).

DIAND, Ottawa (continued)

Central Registry: Indian Affairs' subject files on surrenders, containing all surrender and land sales correspondence less than 30 years old, as well as a substantial amount of older material attached to current files. (INDEX: by region, Agency and name of Band, mainly in the file series coded 30 to 36. See the Treaties and Historical Research Centre for further information.)

DIAND (Regional and District Offices)

Most Regional and District offices have files on recent (post-1930) surrenders or land sales, and copies of related maps. Extent of holdings varies from office to office. (INDEX: contact Lands Section of your local office for further information.)

Other Records

Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs (Registrar-General's Office, Ottawa): Original letters patent on all sold surrendered Indian lands in Canada up to the present day. See also copies at the Public Archives (RG-68), and in the Indian Land Registry (patents dated before 1960 only). (INDEX: by name of buyer or legal land description.)

National Library of Canada, Canadian Indian Rights Commission Collection: Documents related to the surrender of the St. Peter's Reserve, Manitoba, 1907, including the Provincial Royal Commission Report of January 1912 and transcripts of evidence describing the surrender in detail. An important collection describing in detail the events of a significant post-Confederation surrender. (INDEX: Contact the curator of the collection at 1-613-992-6628.)

Provincial Archives: Some provincial archives hold important records on early colonial sales of Indian lands, as well as general background material. (See, for example, the Crown Lands Papers in the Ontario Archives in Toronto, and comparable records elsewhere).

Court Records: Files on court cases currently before the Federal Court of Canada are available for research. They contain useful historical and legal information on 20th century surrenders. See Federal Court of Canada (Trial Division) Registry, files T-2330-75 (Cardinal et al. v. the Queen, Enoch Band, 1908 surrender); T-494-78 (Brulé et al. v. the Queen, Enoch Band, 1902 surrender); T-2583-77 (Small Legs et al. v. the Queen, Peigan Band, 1908 surrender); T-4178-78 (Apsassin et al. v. the Queen, Fort St. John Band, 1948 surrender); and T-3267-79 (Bigeagle et al. v. the Queen, Whitebear/Ocean Man/Pheasant's Rump Bands, 1901 surrender).

#### Published Material

Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs: These contain valuable background information on local conditions, especially between 1867 and 1918. They include yearly tabulations and other information on land sales across Canada in the years 1898-1940.

Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 3 volumes (Toronto: Coles, 1971). This book contains reprints of most major surrenders up to 1903, of which the originals are either in PAC, RG-10 volumes 1840-53 or in DIAND's Indian Land Registry. Does not include maps and other attachments in all cases.

Other Background Reading: Few detailed published descriptions of surrenders are available as yet, although some of the material on pre-Confederation Treaties (described in earlier sections) applies to the early surrenders as well. See also Peter S. Schmalz's The



History of the Saugeen Indians (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1977), chapters III to VII; Charles M. Johnston's The Valley of the Six Nations (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1964); Kenneth J. Tyler's "A Tax-Eating Proposition: The History of the Passpasschase Indian Reserve" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1979); Stewart Raby, "Indian Land Surrenders in Southern Saskatchewan", Canadian Geographer (1973) vol. 17(1) pages 36-51; Robert J. Surtees, "Indian land cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: the evolution of a system" (Ph.D thesis, Carleton University, 1982); and L.C. Hansen, "Revocation of surrender and its implications for a Canadian Indian Band's development", Anthropologica (1981) n.s. vol. 23(2): 121-143.



21673 P.C. 409. 20725  
 Extract from a Report of the Committee of the  
 Privy Council, approved by the Governor General  
 on the 4th. March, 1907.

305861



On a Memorandum dated 26th. February, 1907, from the  
 Superintendent General of Indian Affairs submitting a  
 surrender in duplicate, made on the 29th. day of January,  
 1907, by the [ ] Band of Indians, of all that portion,  
 comprising an area of 20,704 acres, of their reserve, NO.  
 [ ] in the Province of [ ] lying south of the  
 road allowance, between projected townships 17 and 18,  
 range [ ], W. of [ ] Mer., and including the said road allow-  
 ance, the said surrender having been made in order that  
 the land covered thereby may be sold for the benefit of  
 the band.

The Minister recommends, as the surrender has been  
 duly authorized, executed and attested in the manner  
 required by the 49th. Section of the Indian Act, Ch. 81,  
 R.S.C. that the same be accepted by the Governor in  
 Council, subject to the conditions therein mentioned, and,  
 that the requirements of Section 3 of the Land Regulations,  
 of the Department of Indian Affairs (as established by  
 Order in Council of the 15th. Sep. 1888) as to the perform-  
 ance of settlement duties, be waived in connection with  
 the purchase of the land covered by the surrender; the  
 original surrender to be returned to the Department of  
 Indian Affairs, and the duplicate thereof kept of record  
 in the Privy Council Office.

The Committee submit the same for approval.

*Rodrigue & Landrean*  
*acting*

The Honourable Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

#### AN ORDER-IN-COUNCIL

A typical Order-in-Council accepting and confirming a land surrender on behalf of the "Governor in Council", as required by the Indian Act of the time. Significant markings on the document are the "P.C. number" (P.C., or Privy Council, 409) and the date (4 March 1907) which are both needed to identify the Order. Note also the handwritten file numbers, which can be used to trace related documents; the date stamp, showing the date the Order was received in the Department of Indian Affairs; and the initials in the margins, probably those of DIA officials acknowledging receipt. The heading "Extract from a Report..." and the Clerk's signature show that this is not the original Order (which would be found in PAC, RG-2 series 1), but a legally valid certified copy produced by the Privy Council for general use. See also remarks in Appendix 1 of this handbook, under "Orders-in-Council". (SOURCE: DIAND, Indian Land Registry, Instrument No. 1127-5; name of Band deleted).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCES

The economy of an Indian community has a very important effect on its history. A Band's livelihood influences where its people choose to live, how they govern themselves, and what relations they have with others. You, as a researcher, may investigate this subject on its own, or as part of a larger project.

For example, you may need to research the past livelihood of your community generally. How did people make a living 20, 50, or 150 years ago? How have their ways of life changed over time? You may be asked to write about current disputes over the use of land or of hunting, fishing and trapping territory. To do so, you also need to understand how these conflicts arose in the first place.

Claims research sometimes also involves work on the history of a Band's economy. People making claims for damages caused by losses of reserve land need information on how the land was used, what it was worth, and what effect its loss had on the group's means of earning a living.

For example, a Band Council may ask you to report on the government's past management of Band or community moneys. You would answer such questions as: When was the Band's Trust Fund first set up? Where did the money in it come from? What Treaties, surrenders and laws affect how it is used? How has the money been administered by the government in the past? You might also be asked to explain the tax status and rights of the Band, or of a business venture operated by it.

Finally, individual people may need research on their private financial affairs - for example, a government "savings account" held for them or their relatives by the Department of Indian Affairs; or their personal tax status and rights.

Below are brief outlines of five types of project that require special research on Indian economic history.

### 1. The Economic History of a Community

If you wish to research the past economy or way of life of a community, you usually have to do a general history of the community first. This will give you some of the most important economic facts, such as how large the community is and was; what were its traditional ways of making a living; what territory, reserve land and resources it has used during its history; and what important historical events affected the community's livelihood, such as the arrival of fur traders or white settlers, the making of Treaties, and the passing of laws controlling Indian economic activities.

When you have a reasonable knowledge of the community's history, you can go on to do a more detailed economic study of special issues, such as the following:

- Hunting, fishing and trapping: You could research how game, fish and the fur trade have provided a living for people of the community, both in the past and today. This subject is so specialized that it is discussed in its own section, next in the handbook.
- Farming: You could describe how people in the community have farmed, both in the past and today. You would describe both traditional and modern methods of farming or gardening. Subjects to study could include the crops raised, how they are used, stored and traded, and how farming related to other ways of making a living, such as hunting and trapping, or wage labour. Related subjects include choice of reserve lands for farming, the effects of

government controls over Indian farming (such as restrictions on marketing of produce, or controls on land use), and the effects of special financial aid programs for Indian farmers.

- Labour, Employment and Business: You could do a project on the history of Indian labour and business in your community. If the Band's traditional livelihood was by hunting, fishing, trading and/or farming, when did other "non-traditional" sources of income first become available? How large a part of the people's livelihood did it become? What kinds of work for wages were done in the community, when and by whom? What private enterprises did Indian people of the area first set up, and when?

## 2. Evaluation of Past Reserve Lands and Resources

If you are working on a legal claim relating to losses of land, or revenue from mismanaged resources, you may be asked to determine the past value of the land in question. You will need information on the way the land was being used, or could have been used, at the time it was taken, and what its value would have been later on. You will need to know what effect the loss of the land or resources actually had on the Band's economy.

To do this you will have to do a historic survey of the Band's land and resource use. This means comparing the lost land with other holdings, finding out what it was used for, and what happened after it was gone. Try to discover what land was worth elsewhere in the same region, at the time of the loss. Look for features that made the lost land especially valuable, such as improvements (buildings, fences, clearing, breaking), resources, or a good location. If you think that the government managed the land badly, you should try to find out what were the usual good management practices of the time, and what benefits the Band would normally have earned from proper administration of the land or resources.



Much of this work would have to be done by persons with special technical knowledge, such as lawyers, economists, or resource specialists. However, it is your responsibility to find the historical evidence they need to work with. You will look at DIAND's files on Band lands and economic activities (farming, fencing, stockraising, minerals, timber and so on); general reports on conditions on the reserve, written by agents, missionaries, traders, and others; Band and government financial records; and local records, such as newspapers and county or municipal financial documents.

### 3. Band Trust Funds

A "Band Trust Fund" is money belonging to a Band as a group, and is held or used for their benefit by the federal government. Most of this money is earned by the sale or lease of Band reserve lands or on-reserve resources. Under the present Indian Act, these funds may be spent only in specified ways. Until this decade, Band Council powers of control over them were in practice very limited. The money is banked in the federal treasury, where it earns a rate of interest similar to that paid on "public moneys".

Since the first trust funds were set up in the mid-19th century, most of the available information on Band funds has been set out in a series of "Trust Fund Ledgers", with associated cheque and receipt (or "journal") registers. These give detailed lists of all spending from and income to each Band's account. A sample statement from the ledgers is given on page 114. Separate ledger systems are kept for moneys feeding into the Trust Funds, including land sale, lease, mineral and timber accounts. Correspondence concerning the trust funds is scattered widely throughout the Indian historical records.

Thus, a good basic research project on a Band trust fund concentrates on:

- Band Trust Fund statements: accounts, receipts and other specific financial records laid out in the Trust Fund Ledgers and related documents.
- the provisions of any legal documents governing the use of trust fund moneys, including Indian Act provisions on Band moneys; the terms of land or resource sales or leases that make up the Funds' income; and the terms of any Treaty that may govern federal financial obligations (for example, obligations to pay for specific goods or social services).
- Background: documents and reports describing in general terms how the Band's moneys have been handled over the years, and why they were used in that particular way.

You may then wish to research more general questions, such as Indian Affairs' investment policy; rates of interest paid on the funds; the handling of cash distributions out of the funds; and the definition of "capital" and "revenue" expenditures under the Indian Act.

#### 4. Taxation

There is as yet no study of the history of Canadian Indian tax status. There is, however, a great deal of published legal material that should be used in any historical project. Records scattered throughout the archival sources cover 120 years of specific cases and claims.

The field of Indian taxation breaks down into four interrelated issues:

- Indian claims to exemption from taxes generally (including claims based on aboriginal rights, Treaties or other formal agreements).

- Personal tax status of individual Indian people, both on and off reserves (including income tax, poll tax and customs duties on personal goods).
- Taxation of Indian lands and resources, including property taxes, various municipal levies, resource taxes and tariffs, and royalties from on-reserve minerals, oil, and gas.
- Taxation of businesses, corporations and organizations owned, run, and/or staffed by Indians, located on or off reserves.

## 5. Government Finances

Information on how federal government budgeting and finance policy affects Indian people can be found in the financial records of the Department of Indian Affairs. Researchers working on this subject should also examine the general "social services" policies of the federal government.

For example, you might study the growth of the Indian Affairs budget over time, and how it was divided up among the various parts of the Department. Where did the early Indian Affairs administrations get their money, and how was it used? In 1876, for example, how much was spent on non-optional costs such as maintenance of Indian schools or Treaty obligations, as compared to spending on social services and Indian economic development generally, or to spending on DIA staff and administration? How did these proportions change after important historic turning points -- in, say, the years 1884-86, 1897, 1918-20, 1945, or 1968-71?

You may also want to compare Indian Affairs budgets with those of other government departments, or to the "aboriginal affairs" spending of foreign nations. You could compare government spending on services to

Indians with those provided to non-Indians. Finally, you could study the use of public moneys versus Band Trust Funds on similar projects, such as reserve land improvements and economic development.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian-Inuit Affairs Program: current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).

#### General Economic History: Sources

Researchers should look at the same sources as those for a general community history, including records on reserve lands and reserve land leasing and allotment; the fur trade and hunting, fishing and trapping; and implementation of Treaty promises.

As for most topics, pre-Confederation research requires that researchers use a wide range of archival material (generally unindexed) as well as descriptions and statistics from ethnological writings on traditional life. See especially Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography; the records of the fur trade (as described on pages 270 - 273 of this handbook); records of the missions; and the published Journals and related public records of the colonial legislatures (for example, the Journals of the Legislative Assemblies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc.).

General economic history (continued)

For post-Confederation work, the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1868 onward, and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in areas where these were on active duty (1874-1918) are especially recommended for background information. The DIA Annual Reports for 1875 to the present also include tabulations of a variety of economic statistics (such as reserve land use and earnings from farm produce and wildlife) but these should be used with caution. In the numbered Treaty areas of central and northern Canada, detail on local economic conditions is often found in the reports of the Treaty paymasters, located in the "payment of annuity" files, dated c. 1897 to the present (that is, PAC, RG-10 volumes 3969-3980 file 156710-1 to -36, restricted reels C-10198-10201; later files are in the "28-3" series in RG-10 volumes 6878-6923 and in files of the same series, dated 1950 to the present, held by DIAND).

There was apparently no full general review of Canadian Indian economic conditions before World War II. The Hawthorn Report (A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, 2 vols., Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-67) reviewed Indian economic conditions across Canada in the late 1960s. Since then, only a few major surveys on current conditions have been released to the public. See Christine D. Oliver, A Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian People. National Report... (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, August 1977); the so-called "Beaver Report", To Have What is One's Own. Report From the President (Ottawa: National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee, 1979); and the statistical roundup, Indian Conditions: A Survey (Ottawa: DIAND, 1980). Users should note that all these documents are still controversial; the statistical methods used in Indian Conditions, in particular, have been subject to criticism. Sources for many of the economic statistics used may be found in DIAND's Program Reference Centre, Ottawa. In this connection see also the general summaries of Band economic status in the early 1970s in Economic Classification, Indian Bands of Canada (Ottawa: DIAND, Indian-Eskimo Economic Development Branch, 1973).



General economic history (continued)

A book that touches incidentally on most of the economic issues distinctive to Indian reserve communities is Paul Williams' manual for Band Councils, Indian Economic Development Handbook (Toronto: Union of Ontario Indians, 1976).

Indian Affairs files on Indian farming (including those on general policy, farm loans, equipment, livestock, seed, fencing, water, etc.) are available for many areas, dating from the 1900s or 1910s, and earlier in some cases. Where none exist, or where "routine" files have been destroyed, the Agency Records (agent's letterbooks, diaries, correspondence, and Agency Ration Books) often fill the gap. (INDEX: see PAC's finding aids to RG-10 generally, especially the Red and Black Series and the new accessions, and the Agency Records lists). A partial list of background readings (which, however, concentrates on aboriginal farming) is in E.E. Edwards and W.D. Rasmussen's A Bibliography on the Agriculture of the American Indians (U.S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publications No. 447, Washington: DOA, 1942).

There are similar special file series on Indian labour, business and welfare payments, dating in most cases from the 1930s onward, and supplemented by the Agency records. These are found in DIAND (Ottawa, Regional and District offices) and in the "new accessions" of RG-10, especially accessions 72/605, 72/606 and 72/607. Some recent material is also filed in PAC, RG-50 (accession P74-5/73, UIC support of trappers) and PAC, RG-118 (Manpower and Immigration special native employment projects, 1958-1974). For background reading, see the discussion of labour history in Rolf Knight's Indians At Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia 1858-1930 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978). This uses the Indian Affairs Annual Reports (although unfortunately not the related archival documents) as one of its main sources of information.

### General economic history (continued)

The three most useful lists of secondary material (books and reports) on economic development are: Thomas S. Abler and S.M. Weaver's A Canadian Indian Bibliography 1960-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Marjorie P. Snodgrass' Economic Development of American Indians and Eskimos, 1930 through 1967: A Bibliography (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1967) on American topics; and the card catalogue of the Department of Indian Affairs' Program Reference Centre (Ottawa), which indexes the Department's reference collection of unpublished recent economic works, mainly the reports of private consultants and government officials on Band economic development, c.1950 to present. A partial catalogue (Bibliography. Economic Development. Consultant Reports, Ottawa: DIAND, c.1976) now outdated, is also available. Items in this collections are sometimes restricted unless the Band authorizes access. Further regional and Band economic surveys are listed in the general bibliographies on pages 197 to 210 of this handbook.

### Valuation of Reserve Lands: Sources

Aside from technical information on evaluation methods (which is outside the scope of this book) the sources available are the same as those listed above. Historical evidence on past land and resource values in the neighbourhood of reserves, as used in claims, is notoriously hard to collect. Researchers must often resort to lengthy study of local newspapers, land titles records, Crown Lands administration records, and any other sources they can find that yield information on land prices and land use at the time the claim arose.

### Trust Fund Records: Sources

The Trust Fund Statements (that is, the ledgers that record in detail all credits and expenditures for all Band Funds during a given year) are available for the years 1849 to 1949 on microfiche in the PAC, Federal

DATE	NO. OF CHECK	INTEREST	Journal Folio	Dr. (Debit)	Cr. (Credit)	Dr. or Cr.	BALANCE
1910							
Apr. 1		By Balance from Ledger 36			275.40		
Aug. 31		By Receiver General-D. Sevigny. Int. on land pay't.	41		29.05		
Oct. 29		By Receiver General-G. Seaborn. Int. on land pay't.	83		23.05		
Nov. 17	3949	Government a/c - Interest 1910-11		62.47	255.41		
Nov. 30		To A. Allenford Drugs					
Dec. 6	4325	By Receiver-General-J. DePencier. Int. on land pay't.	124		174.		
Dec. 31		To Shenstone Milling Co. Flour	128	21.44	1653.11		
1911		By Receiver-General - J. Moore. Int. on land pay't.	139		8.35		
Janv. 31		By Receiver-General - R. Berg. Int. on land pay't.	148		16.65		
		By Receiver-General-Agent A. Douglas-Refund on a/c seed grain	149		71.39		
	4886	To A. Douglas (In trust) - Freightling bacon		.60			
	4891	Arsove & Co. Implements		106.			
	4902	To A. Douglas (in trust) - Freightling wire		15.			
Feb. 4	5595	To M. Gibson - Refund overpay't on land		10.79			
Feb. 13	5776	Joseph Whitekey Horse & Wagon		190.			
Feb. 17	5831	A. Charles Set of harness		45.			
	2	Lash's Sale Stables Work horse		150.			
	3	The Massey Harris Co. 2 sleighs		65.			
	5900	To A. Douglas (in trust)-Clearing & marking reserve boundary		323.81			
		To Government a/c-transfer to Vote a/c - Bacon	150	48.			
	5918	J.H. Hove M.D. - Medical Attendance		15.			
		By Receiver-General - I. Anderson. Int. on land pay't.			629.31		
-28	5920	To Indian Land Management Fund-X on land pay't.	157	252.36			
		[Total Debits]		11305.471			
		To Balance to Ledger 38		1830.25			
				3135.72	3135.72		

[These columns usually left blank]

## AN INDIAN TRUST FUND STATEMENT

A fictitious Band Trust Fund statement, similar to statements found in the Indian Affairs "Trust Fund Ledgers" for the fiscal year 1910-1911 (Public Archives of Canada, RG-10 volume 5942). Only the "Interest" page for this year is shown. A separate "Capital" page would show moneys handled under special provisions of the Indian Act (in this case, sections 89 and 90 of the Indian Act of 1906). Note that most of the income of this Fund was from the sale of surrendered Indian reserve land, and that some of the expenditures may have been provided for in the surrender agreement.

Columns

1. Date of entry: that is, date of cheque, journal vouchier or other transfer.
2. Registration number of cheque. May be used to trace cancelled cheques in cases where copies still exist.
3. Number of "journal folio", which records receipt of money paid into the account. May be used to trace the original receipt, if copies still exist.
4. "Debits" column, showing payments out of the account.
5. "Credits" column, showing payments into the account.
6. Net Debit/Credit column, showing net effect of each entry separately (seldom actually used by DIA accountants).
7. Balance column, occasionally used to calculate current balances part-way through the fiscal year.

Types of Entry

8. Balance Forward. Amount in account at end of previous year (1909-1910). "Ledger 36" has been renumbered, and can be found as volume 5941 of RG-10 in the Public Archives of Canada. The book illustrated here is Ledger 37.
9. Land sales payments. Amounts paid in by a buyer of reserve land surrendered by the Band. This would be the interest portion of a deferred instalment of the total price. It passed through the hands of the Receiver-General of Canada into the account. If the buyer had paid any part of his capital debt, it would appear in the "Capital" part of the statement, not shown here.
10. Interest. Yearly "bank interest" earned on the account, paid by the Federal government at fixed rates.
11. Miscellaneous payments, made on goods or services delivered to Band members. Some may have been made under the terms of a land surrender; others would have been at the discretion of the Indian Agent. At this early date, the Band Council may or may not have been asked to approve the expenditure.
12. Repayment of Band money, used by Band farmers to buy seed grain. The repayment passed from the farmer, to the Indian Agent, to the Receiver-General, to the Band account.
13. Payments out of the account for services performed for the Band, by either Band members or outsiders. The money passed through the hands of the Indian Agent.
14. Repayment of excess land land sales money returned to the payor, a buyer of surrendered reserve land, after an overpayment.
15. Repayment out of Band moneys to the Federal purse (that is, to Parliamentary appropriations via a Government holding account) for goods rendered to the Band. These goods were apparently not considered to be Federal obligations under a Treaty or surrender, and so were charged to the Trust Fund.
16. Indian Land Management Fund levy (ten per cent on all land sales payments). Part or all of this sum may have been returned to the account in 1913-1914.
17. (This figure was normally not included in Trust Fund statements, but has been inserted here for reference).
18. Balance Forward. Amount in the account at end of the fiscal year 1910-11 (as of 28 February 1911). It is shown as a debit and transferred to the next year's ledger (1911-12). "Ledger 38" is now volume 5943 in RG-10 at the Public Archives of Canada.



Trust Funds (continued)

Archives Division. (INDEX: organized by Band and year; see archivists for information on special authorization needed for access). Annual summaries of these statements (or complete statements in some years) were published in the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs in the years 1860-1938. Statements after 1949 are available, with permission of the Band only, from the Statutory Requirements Division of the Indian-Inuit Affairs Program, DIAND. Pre-Confederation records relating to Indian moneys - mainly Treaty annuity records and accounts of land sales - are found scattered throughout the published records of the colonial governments (such as the Journals of the Legislative Assemblies for Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc.).

Related early financial statements and accounts, including some pre-Confederation trust fund records, are scattered throughout early volumes of RG-10 in the PAC (see especially RG-10 volumes 9190 and 9214-9220 and Accession 76-7/124 Box 2, file 16) and in Record Group 19 (Department of Finance, volumes 2479-2484 and volume 4448 file 13). Individual savings account records relate to personal bank accounts kept by Indian Affairs on an Indian person's behalf. These may be found interfiled with Band Trust Fund Statements; other essential information is in RG-10, uncatalogued Accession 74-5/54; RG-10 volumes 8129-8156 and 6814; and DIAND file 1/28-5.

The Trust Fund Journals, receipt registers, cheque records, and other materials closely tied into the Trust Fund Ledgers are in PAC, RG-10 volumes 9190-9123, and in RG-10, uncatalogued accession 74-5/54. A partial collection of interest distribution paylists, organized by Band, is available on microfiche in the Program Reference Centre of the Indian-Inuit Affairs Program, DIAND (Ottawa). Related policy and Band-by-Band files on interest distributions, dated 1865-1958, are in PAC, RG-10 volumes 7944-7957, 8097-8099 and 8114-8129. Land sales records and account books, and land and resource lease books (all of which feed into the Trust Funds) are described in earlier sections of this book on "Reserve Lands" and "Surrenders".



### Trust Funds (continued)

General background material on trust funds is scattered throughout RG-10 and related pre-Confederation records, mainly those on Indian land surrenders and sales. (See sources listed in the section of this handbook relating to surrenders.) Two useful sets of policy records are: (a) the Indian Affairs Trust Fund policy files, especially those in the series 1/28-1 through 1/28-3 (in PAC, RG-10 volumes 8107 to 8114; later file volumes are in DIAND); and (b) reference files in DIAND's Treaties and Historical Research Centre (Ottawa) on the Indian Land Management Fund, including early documents on the creation of the first trust funds. Researchers must be prepared to do long and detailed research in a wide variety of records to reconstruct the handling of any given fund or group of funds.

### Taxation: Sources

Files on Indian tax status are scattered throughout the Red and Black Series of RG-10 in the PAC. (INDEXES: see computerized subject indexes to RG-10, and indexes in RG-10, accession 76-7/124 folders 6-8.) The main post-1900 policy files are in RG-10 volumes 6821-22, 7978 and 8870, and in DIAND's current files 1/18-21 and 1/18-21-1. The Department of National Revenue also maintains files on Indians and taxation, but it is not known whether these are open to outside researchers. A brief review of policy material in the Public Archives is found in Wayne Daugherty's "Discussion report on Indian taxation" (unpublished paper, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa, 30 June 1978).

The published material on Indians and taxation relates mainly to cases currently before the Federal and Supreme Courts of Canada, including: National Indian Brotherhood v. Minister of National Revenue (1978), R. v. National Indian Brotherhood (1978), Minister of National Revenue v. Iroquois of Caughnawaga (1977), Snow v. R. (1978), R. v. Greyyes, and Nowegijick v. R. (1979-82). Reports of decisions to date are

Taxation (continued)

found in the Canadian Native Law Reporter for 1977 to the present. See also background material in the Library of the Assembly of First Nations (National Indian Brotherhood) in Ottawa. For discussions of the legal situation see Richard H. Bartlett, Indians and Taxation in Canada (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1980), Jay Vincent White, Taxing Those They Found There: An Examination of the Tax Exempt Status of the American Indian (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1972), and D.B. Fields and W.T. Stanbury, The Economic Impact of the Public Sector upon the Indians of British Columbia: An Examination of the Incidence of Taxation and Expenditure of Three Levels of Government... (Vancouver: University of B.C. Press, 1970).

5. Government Finances: Sources

Department of Indian Affairs financial policy files of historical interest include those in the series coded as 16 (DIAND, current files 1/16-1 to 1/16-16) and PAC, RG-10 volumes 8835-8846; 7991-7994; 6943-6949; 6813 file 481-1-27; and 3232 file 600071). These cover the period from 1924 to the present. A large quantity of records on loans, grants, subsidies, Indian economic development generally, and financing of social services, are scattered throughout the subject files listed in the general research section, above. A description of DIA's routine financial procedures at the turn of the century (1903) may be found in PAC, RG-33/82, volume 1, exhibit 15.

For newcomers to research on the federal financial system, the following is an outline of the most important records on federal spending; that is, the estimates, accounts, annual departmental reports, and Auditor-General's reports. Most are available as printed government documents. (a) Public Accounts: these describe the federal government's actual spending on each Department each year, and appear between October and February of the year after the fiscal year to which they relate. They

Government finances (continued)

may be extremely detailed (for example, they may list individual livestock or Treaty supplies bought for each Band) or may be very brief, depending on the period. Available for 1867 to the present. (SOURCE: published in the yearly government report known as: Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, under the subheadings "Public Accounts" or "Finance".) Between 1885-6 and 1940, the Public Accounts become less detailed while the Auditor General's reports become more so; after 1961 the trend was reversed. (b) Auditor-General's Report: the Auditor-General reviews spending in all departments each year, and may comment on or criticize particular expenses in detail. It is often an excellent source of extra information on Indian Affairs financial practices, especially in the years 1885-6 to 1940. Available for the years 1878/9 to 1942/3 and 1961 to the present. (SOURCE: Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, indexed under "Auditor-General" or "Finance" in 1878/9 to 1942/3; combined with "Public Accounts" in 1943-1961; independent again from 1961 to present). (c) The Estimates: detailed advance statements of planned expenditures, released at the beginning of a fiscal year. Can be compared with actual expenses, listed in the "Public Accounts" at the year's end. (SOURCE: published as a separate Government document, called the "Estimates" or the "Blue Books", and indexed under "Parliament". See the set of unpublished "working" estimates for the Indian Affairs Branch, 1957-61, with valuable annotations, in the Government Documents Section of the DIAND library). (d) Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports: for most years since 1867, and especially between 1867 and 1938, these give important information on departmental spending. (e) Department of Finance Annual Reports: these give general information on government spending that helps to explain the figures quoted in the Public Accounts and Auditor General's reports. (SOURCES: both DIA and Finance reports are in: Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, under the appropriate departmental name).

Government finances (continued)

These documents may be hard to follow without special background information. Three useful reference works on the Canadian government's financial system, two on historic and one on current practices, are: the "Introduction" to RG-19 (Department of Finance) -- Inventory (unpublished manuscript, Public Archives of Canada, Federal Archives Division, Ottawa, no date), on pre- and post-Confederation systems; A.E. Brick's Financing Canadian Government (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1949), on the period 1867-1945; and J.C. Strick, Canadian Public Finance (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973) on current practices.

### HUNTING, FISHING AND TRAPPING

Indian hunting, fishing and trapping rights -- that is, legal rights -- have been heavily researched by some groups in recent years. Others have documented current or recent use of territory for hunting, fishing and trapping, by doing what are called "land use and occupancy studies". Still others have researched changes in Indian use of wildlife over time, both across Canada, and for individual communities.

All three types of project can use archival records, but many workers in this field are unfamiliar with the skills needed to find and interpret them. I will suggest ways to use these records by outlining a short project on the archival history of hunting, fishing and trapping in a particular Indian group. I will also show what other types of research and special technical advice may be needed. Bear in mind that most work of this kind is specialized and complex, so that you are likely to need to consult people experienced in the study of wildlife and land use.

#### Mapping the area your study will cover

Your community uses a certain area for hunting, fishing or trapping, or did so in the past. Make or buy a large map of the area for reference. It should show landmarks such as roads, railways, rivers, lakes, swamps, heights of land, and parks. Draw on it anything you already know about the area you are researching. This map can be redrawn as you learn more about your subject.



Mark on the map any Indian reserve lands or settlements, registered traplines, permanent trapping blocks, or fisheries. If more than one group of people (Indians or others) is using the area, find out who they are, where they are located, and what settlements they have in the area. (This includes trading posts, villages, farms, and so on.) You can later use this map as a reference from which to work backward through the archives or the memories of living persons.

Finally, get copies from the provincial or territorial government of any official maps showing current or past trapping areas, traplines, or fishing license areas.

#### Organizing Your Work

Decide whether you want to consult archival documents first, or whether you or your co-workers will begin with work "in the field" -- that is, the study of past and present trapping, hunting and fishing activities by observing and interviewing hunters and trappers in person.

There are advantages to doing it either way. People who do fieldwork and then visit the archives grasp the meaning of the records more easily. They know what to look for; and see what the archives do not tell them. On the other hand, looking at archives first may give them ideas for questions to use out in the field.

#### Doing Field Work and Getting Professional Help

Field researchers may visit hunters, fishermen and trappers to document how they are using wildlife today. They may also interview older people about hunting and trapping in the past, and how it differs from practices today. They may study wildlife populations and the environment they live in.

Most studies of this kind are planned or managed by people with special expertise. They will be able to tell you (the archival researcher) what sort of historical information helps them in their work.

At this point, you will probably need expert advice even if you are not doing field work. For example, you may need to know more about the workings of local game laws, or the registered trapline system, or the fisheries licensing system. For this, you could consult local trappers' or fishermen's associations, or provincial wildlife officers. You may need to know more about wildlife populations and how they are used for food and fur. Talk to the hunters and trappers themselves, to wildlife biologists, or to the local game wardens.

If you decide that a "land use and occupancy study" is needed, you could consult the land use specialists at native organizations that have experience with this sort of work, such as COPE (Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement) in Inuvik and Ottawa, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in Ottawa, or the Dene Nation in Yellowknife. You may need help with library research in such matters as the history of the fur trade. For this, talk to some of the many scholars who are now working on this subject. Finally, for advice on Indian legal rights to hunt, fish and trap, you could consult with the Native Law Centre in Saskatoon, or a lawyer who is familiar with the subject.

#### Doing Archival Research

You could use records such as the following (in order roughly from the oldest to the most recent):

Fur trade records. These give information that can be used to reconstruct Indian hunting practises and use of wildlife in much of Canada from the 17th century to the present.

Ethnological records. These are records of traditional Indian ways of life, collected by anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians. They often describe traditional hunting, fishing, and trapping practises.

Mission records. Some of these describe hunting practises, wildlife, and famines.

Indian Affairs and other government files and reports. Files held by the various departments and programs (including Indian Affairs, Northern Affairs, Parks Canada, the R.C.M.P., the Canadian Wildlife Service, and the Department of Fisheries) often contain general descriptions of wildlife use and legal rights issues. Some date back to the mid-19th century.

Indian Affairs wildlife files. These describe Indian use of wildlife since the mid-19th century, especially (but not exclusively) in relation to legal rights. Records since about 1940 have been quite detailed, and include statistics for some areas. Indian Affairs Regional and District Office files contain a wide variety of local wildlife information.

Provincial wildlife records. Provincial governments usually keep detailed records on all aspects of wildlife, including Indian activities, especially for the period after 1900.

#### Doing Legal Research

You may need to do special research on Indian legal rights to wildlife, past and present. Look for the following: copies of any Treaty that affects your community, if it mentions hunting rights; copies of provincial or territorial game laws and regulations now in force; and earlier game laws in force for the period your study deals with. If you are studying the time before 1951, you will also need the Indian Act's

provisions on hunting, application of provincial laws to Indians, and Band bylaws. Finally, look at summaries of the law on Indian hunting, fishing and trapping. Check to see if there have been recent court cases affecting your area.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program: current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).

#### Public Archives of Canada

Manuscript Group 19: Various records relating to Indians and the fur trade generally, mainly for the period before Confederation. These include the private papers of fur traders and the business papers of various companies. (INDEX: see inventory to MG-19 and ask archivists for advice).

Manuscript Group 20: Fur trade records of the Hudson's Bay Company from the 17th century to 1870. The largest single Canadian collection on the fur trade and native people. Detailed information on trade, trade relations, hunting practices, and hunting territories across Canada. The amount of detail varies from post to post. MG-20 includes some records of related bodies, such as the North West Company. (INDEX: by region and name of post; see inventory to MG-20 and pages 270 - 273 of this handbook).

RG-10 (Department of Indian Affairs records): (a) General descriptive material on Indian hunting practices and use of wildlife, scattered throughout RG-10. See especially the regular yearly or quarterly descriptive reports of Indian Agents, Superintendents and Inspectors, and the Agency records. (INDEX: the "green inventory" and related finding aids for RG-10 volumes 1-1854, not subject-indexed; the Computerized Subject Indexes for the Red Series, Black Series and New Accessions; and special finding aid #40 for Agency records. See especially under the headings "Reports", "Annuity Payments", "Relief" and the names of specific Bands or Agencies.) (b) Specific policy and regional files on wildlife use and game laws. (INDEXES: same as above. See the headings "Game Laws" (the main series) and "Hunting", "Trapping", "Fur", "Registered Traplines", "Wildlife", "Fishing", "Migratory Birds", and "Relief". A partial list of these files is given in the McCardle bibliography, below.)

RG-18 Royal Canadian Mounted Police records, for those places and periods at which the RCMP acted as local game wardens, contain much detail on wildlife use and enforcement of game laws against Indians. They should be read in conjunction with the published regional "division" or "patrol" reports in the RNWMP/RCMP Annual Reports for 1874 to 1918 (Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers). (INDEX: see the PAC "green inventory" for RG-18, and related file lists, in the PAC's Federal Archives Division. Indexed by region, division and detachment.)

Other Record Groups: For recent files (mainly 1890s to present) on wildlife generally, Indian use of it, and Indian rights in parks and sanctuaries, see the historic records of DIAND (RG-22) on wildlife and native rights since 1930; of Parks Canada (RG-84) on particular Parks and Indian access to them; of the Northern Affairs Program (RG-85) on wildlife and native people in the North; of Fisheries (RG-23) on Indian fishing; and of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Enquiry (RG-126) on land use and occupancy in the NWT. (INDEX: various inventories and file lists; see archivists for further advice).



National Map Collection: Various recent maps relating to native wildlife use, including those submitted to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Commission (RG-126M) and the Lysyk or Yukon Pipeline Commission (RG-22M).

DIAND (Ottawa)

Policy files on all aspects of Indian hunting, fishing, and trapping in the series 1/20-1 to 1/20-16, mainly for the period 1930 to the present. Also corresponding file series for each province and district separately. (INDEX: by subject. See Treaties and Historical Research Centre.)

Local Archives

DIAND (Regional and District Offices: Policy and administration files on all aspects of local Indian hunting, etc. in the file series 20-1 to 20-16. (INDEX: see the local office.)

Park archives: Most Federal and Provincial parks have their own current archives, some of them dating back to the establishment of the park. These usually include information on native use of local wildlife. (INDEX: consult the park warden for information).

Hudson's Bay Company Archives: See remarks on page 343 of this handbook.

Church records: For descriptive material, see note on religious records on pages 227-229 and 357 of this handbook.

Published Sources

Reading Lists: General ethnological material on Amerindian hunters and trappers is listed in George Peter Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th edition, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1975). Especially abundant research on the subject has been done in the Canadian North, the James Bay area of Quebec, and Northern Ontario: for a fuller list of references see June Helm's Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic, Bruce Trigger's Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 15: Northeast (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981 and 1978), M.A. Tremblay's "Les études amérindiennes au Québec, 1960-1981 ..." Culture (1982) vol. 2(1): 83-106; and John Murdoch's Bibliography of Algonquian Land Tenure (Bibliography No. 3, Rupert House, Que.: Cree Way Project, 1977). For a rough list of published material, court decisions and DIAND files on Indian hunting, fishing and trapping claims, see Bennett McCardle's Indian Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Claims Research: Bibliographies (Ottawa: Indian Association of Alberta, 1978), available from the Native Law Centre (Saskatoon) and the Treaties and Historical Research Centre (Ottawa).

Government Documents: (a) The Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (in Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers) give details about Indian wildlife use, mainly for the period 1870-1920. (b) The Annual Reports of the provincial Fish and Wildlife Departments (or of the provincial "Game Guardians") are available for most provinces from at least 1900 on. Some contain detailed descriptions and statistics on wildlife and the fur trade. (Source: the Sessional Papers of the provincial legislature in question).

Legal Records: Court decisions on native hunting, fishing, and trapping are listed by subject in the McCardle bibliography (above) and in the Canadian Native Law Reporter (1978) volume 1(2) pages 30-46. The Reporter also regularly publishes reports of recent decisions. For summaries of the law on the subject, see: D.E. Sanders, "Indian Hunting and Fishing Rights", Saskatchewan Law Review (1973-74) 38: 45-62; David Knoll, "Treaty and aboriginal hunting and fishing rights", Canadian Native Law Reporter (1979) volume 1: 1-29; R.M. Alison, "Native rights and wildlife: an historical perspective", Chitty's Law Journal (1977) vol. 25:235; P. Cumming and K. Aalto, "Inuit Hunting Rights in the Northwest Territories", Saskatchewan Law Review (1974) vol. 38(2): 252-323, including the Prairie Provinces and what is now the NWT/Yukon; and Kent McNeil, Indian Hunting, Trapping and Fishing Rights in the Prairie Provinces (Saskatoon: Native Law Centre, forthcoming 1983). A good legal reference collection on the subject is in the Native Law Centre at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Similar materials relating to U.S. Indian rights are listed in D.R. McDonald's "Native American fishing/hunting rights: an annotated bibliography", Indian Historian (1978) volume 11 (4) pages 57-62.

Background Reading: Consult the items listed in the McCardle bibliography (above). For more recent works see the works listed under "Fur Trade Research" on pages 270 - 272 of this handbook, as well as the following: Morris Zaslow's The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971) on the fur trade and native people after 1870; Hugh Brody, Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981) on land use, hunting and trapping in northeastern British Columbia; the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project: A Report (3 volumes; Ottawa: Milton Freeman Research Ltd./Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1976); and Our Footprints Are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador, by Carol Brice Bennett (Nain, Nfld: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977).

INDIAN STATUS, MEMBERSHIP AND FAMILY HISTORY

This section describes research on the family history and legal rights of individual Indian people. Research on "Indian status" has to do with the rights of particular people or groups to legal status as Indians under the Indian Act.\* "Membership" research is the same, although it often concentrates on a person's membership in a particular Band and the rights that go with it, such as land and Band moneys.

Your research on status or membership might aim to do one of the following things: to make up a "family tree"; to document a person's claim to Indian status (if the person is not now "registered" as an Indian, but may have a right to be registered); to find out the exact size of a Band at a given date; or to write the history of a "membership" issue.

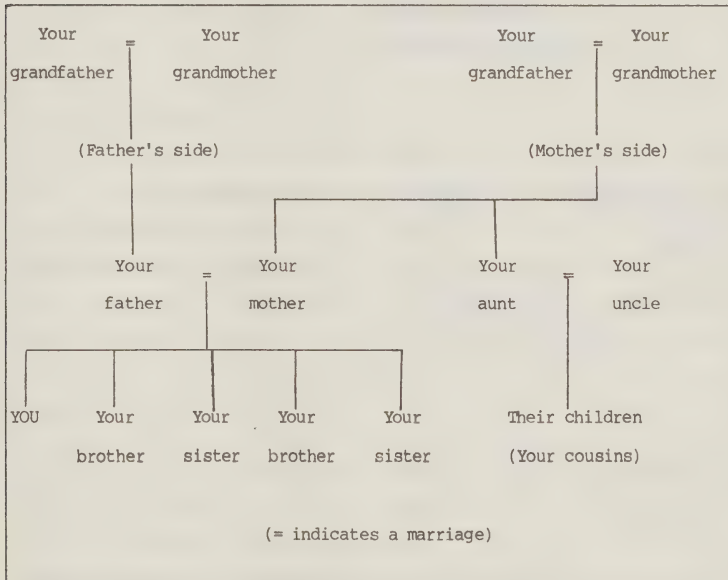
Family Trees (Genealogy)

A "family tree" is a list of all the people in a family, arranged to show how they are related to each other. Family trees are useful when you are writing a local history. They may also help to prove individual peoples' claim to Indian status.

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\* Some researchers are also concerned with "Indian status" as a general issue, especially Indian status under the Constitution. This involves research on the history and definition of terms such as "status Indian", "Treaty Indian", "registered Indian", "Métis", and "non-Treaty Indian". These terms are discussed in more detail in the Glossary (Volume 2, Appendix 1 of this book).

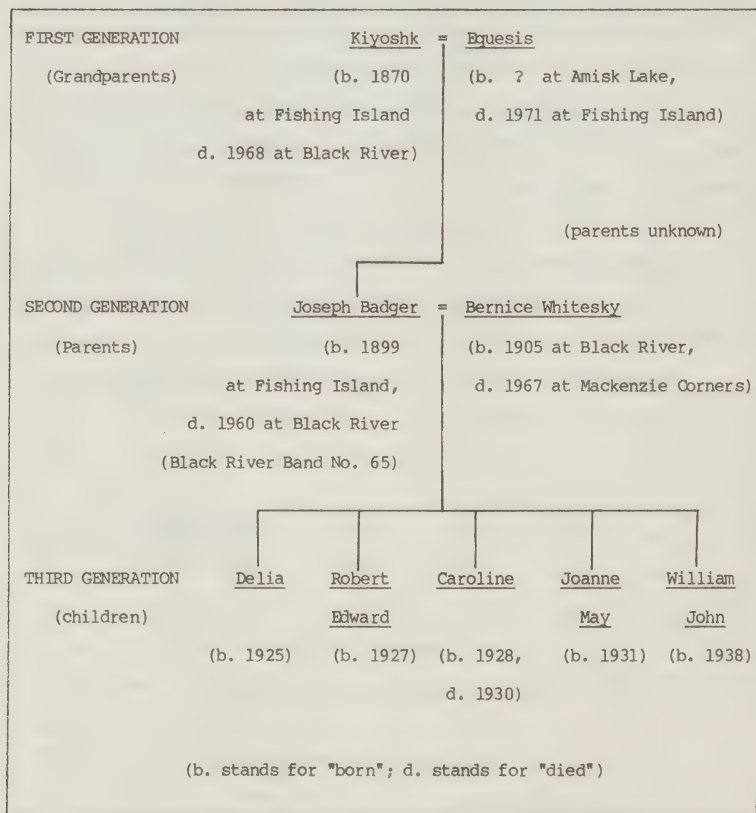
To practice making family trees, do one for your own family. (You will find that this is not as easy as it sounds.) Write down the names of all your brothers and sisters. Arrange them in order of age, and put the names of your parents above them. Above that, write the names of their parents (your grandparents). Also list your aunts, uncles and cousins. Use lines to connect the persons related to each other. The finished tree may look like this:



In some Indian languages, there are special names for relatives that do not correspond exactly to the English terms. For example, some people have different names for their "older brothers" and "younger brothers", or for different kinds of cousins. Others use the same word to indicate their mothers and their aunts. You may thus be able to include special terms in your own language in your family tree.



Some claims research involves family trees or "genealogies". For example, a researcher for the Black River Band could have drawn this family tree to identify the people who had used the Band's Fishing Island camp since the year 1870:



This tree is a very simple one. It shows three generations of people, from the grandfather born at Fishing Island, to the children who are alive today. Their children in turn can be added to the tree, as can great-grandparents and cousins. Some people have been able to build up family trees showing five, eight, or a dozen generations. Others have managed to make trees that take in all the members of a Band. For long or complicated family trees, anthropologists have devised special symbols and abbreviations to help keep family information in order.

Researching Status Cases

You, as a researcher, may be asked to research a person's or a family's claim to be registered as an Indian. At the moment, such cases have to be presented to the Registrar of Indian Membership, or to a court, for a final decision. To document the case, you will need as many as possible of the following records:

- A family tree, showing all the person's known relatives, and their dates of birth and death. It should state whether anyone else in the family already has Indian status, since this could help in the investigation.

- Birth, marriage and other documents. Collect all available formal documents. "Birth registration" documents, if they exist, are kept in the province's Office of Vital Statistics. (Contact the provincial Registrar-General's office for its location.) Registrations are more valuable than "birth certificates", since they show the names of parents and other useful information. If there are no birth documents, a baptismal record can be used instead. If there is one, it will be at the church where the person was baptized -- or, if very old, at a central church archive or provincial archive. If marriages affect the case, find the person's own "marriage certificate", if there is one, and that of his or her parents. Because of the present requirements of the Indian Act, Indian Affairs may ask you to tell them whether the marriages are in legal form, or are marriages by custom or common-law.

Some people may not have any of these documents. You then have to prove the claim by reconstructing the facts. To do so, you will take the evidence of the person involved, and of friends and relatives, as to their claim to Indian status. This evidence may have to be put into sworn legal statements. If you plan to do this, consult the Registrar of Indian Membership to find out what kind of statement he or she needs.

- Indian Affairs Files. If the case is complicated, you may want to look in Indian Affairs records for any papers discussing the status of the person and his/her parents and relatives. Try Treaty paylists, Band lists, and government "membership" files. Some persons' claims to status go back many years, and there may be very old evidence concerning them on the files that you (and they) are not aware of. The Registrar's office in Ottawa will do at least some of this research themselves, whether you attempt it or not.

- Previous Status Applications. If the person has ever tried to get status before, find any letters or decisions that were written at the time. Compare these with what you find in your own research.

- The Indian Act. Look up the parts of the Indian Act that might affect the person's claim. In the present Act (R.S.C. 1970, chapter 1-6) these are mainly sections 5 to 17. You may also have to look at older and different versions of the Act.

You may decide not to give all the information you collect to the Registrar of Indian Membership, but it is wise to have it on hand. As the Indian Act stands now, the Registrar must ask for a great deal of family information before he or she can legally make a decision on a claim to status. You can deal with any demands for facts more easily if you are fully prepared. Furthermore, any changes to the Indian Act membership provisions in future may not cut down the amount of evidence needed to decide individual cases.

#### Band Populations

Researchers often need to find the size of a Band at a particular time. You may need population figures to calculate the amount of land due to a Band under a Treaty, to count the number of people qualified to vote on a land surrender, or to study the health history of the Band.

An example of a record used to count members of a Band is the Treaty payroll. These list all the members of each Band in the "numbered" Treaty and Robinson Treaty areas of Canada, and record the payment of Treaty annuity moneys to each person, every year. An example of a Treaty payroll, with notes explaining it, is on page 141. Other sources of population figures are described and evaluated at the end of this section.

#### Other "Membership" Projects

You might decide to write the history of a particular "membership" issue. For example, you might research the history of the status and rights of Indian women, the status and rights of the Métis, the government's "enfranchisement" policy, other examples of Indian loss of status, or policy and law relating to traditional marriage, family, and adoption customs.

Membership policy files in the Department of Indian Affairs records, as well as many files on specific cases, will be useful in these projects. Remember that some of these files may be closed because of access restrictions on personal information.

#### Membership Records

##### Restrictions

It is important to know that some documents on Indian status -- especially recent ones -- may not be open to you. Many contain personal information, about family relations and other matters, that the people concerned may not wish to be made public. Thus there may be limits on your rights of access to particular files or documents. These limits are described on pages 331-343 in volume 2 of this handbook.

This does not mean that all personal information is closed absolutely. Band researchers working on Indian claims may be able to use some closed records with the written permission of the Band Council. In other cases, records can be opened if the family or person involved gives its consent. If you are planning a project involving personal records, it is wise to get any letters of authorization you need before you begin your work.

It is not yet clear what records will be defined as "personal" records under the new Federal Privacy Act of 1982. It is safe to assume that the following will be closed unless you have special authorization:

- The Indian Register as a whole.
- All Department of Indian Affairs files in the "Membership" series, including those entitled "Membership", "Enfranchisement", "Commutation", and "Adoption".
- Some Department of Indian Affairs files in the series entitled "Payment of (Treaty) Annuities", "Band Management" and "Elections", which have personal information on them.
- Some Department of Indian Affairs files in the Public Archives of Canada (Record Group 10) on "Transfers of Membership", "Admission to and Discharge from Treaty", and "Membership" generally. (See archivists for details, since some of this material may eventually be re-classified.)
- Band Lists (the computerized "Alpha lists" issued each year, and other membership rosters derived from the Indian Register).



As noted in Appendix 2, a wide variety of other records may also be closed under the Privacy Act, or may be opened only to persons accredited as claims researchers.

#### Are Membership Records Always Right?

Experienced researchers sometimes find important mistakes and omissions in membership and population records, especially in the older ones. Whole groups of people may be left out of a census or payroll. Persons entitled to membership in a Band may not be properly enrolled, or may be enrolled late, or may be improperly dropped from lists. Names of individuals may be misspelled or badly translated. Even the adding up of population figures on a payroll or register may be wrong.

Guard against these problems by studying all your sources carefully. Check them against any related archival records. Never rely unquestioningly on any fact or figure that you cannot compare with at least one other reliable source.

#### What Membership and Population Records are Available?

The records can be divided up into three overlapping groups: general sources before Confederation; sources from the Treaty period (about 1810 to 1951); and recent sources (1951 to the present).

#### Sources Before Confederation (up to about 1867)

There is no single source before 1867 for lists of members of Indian bands, or populations of larger ethnic groups. Any records that you do find should be carefully evaluated and used with caution. Try the following:

- Fur trade records. Fur companies often made counts and censuses of Indian groups for trade purposes. These can be found scattered throughout the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of other fur traders. In the HBC records (found in Winnipeg and Ottawa) Indian censuses are most often found in the category of post records known as "account books", and sometimes in the "post journals", "correspondence", and other record categories.

- Anthropological and medical studies. In-depth studies of Indian peoples sometimes include estimates of population sizes and other "vital statistics". Look for these in general ethnohistories of particular peoples, in archaeological studies, and in works on the history of native health in North America.

- Military records. The French and British military made censuses of Indian groups for military purposes at various times and places between the mid-1700s and the 1840s.

- Indian Affairs records contain various censuses and lists relating to Treaty annuities, distribution of presents and land sales moneys, rationing, and allocation of land on reserves.

- Mission records. Most Christian missions in Indian communities have kept some form of baptism, marriage, and death registers. These vary in the amount of detail they give. If they can be found, they can be used to reconstruct a local population or a family tree.

- Formal censuses. A number of formal general censuses were done by the colonial and federal governments between 1825 and 1881. These include information on the population of some Indian and Métis settlements, mainly in eastern Canada and a few early western communities.

The Treaty Period (from about 1810 to about 1951)

As government control over Indian communities developed, the records on Indian population and band membership became more detailed. Laws were made to define who was and was not "Indian" in the eyes of the government. These laws are the source of most of today's "membership" problems. In the first half of the 20th century, the provincial laws relating to public registration of births, marriages and deaths began to be applied to Indians for the first time, adding an extra, though not always reliable, source of information.

- Band population figures and Band census lists. The federal government in the mid-19th century began to keep formal "Band lists" in order to control land use on reserves, to account for moneys paid out under Treaties and land sales agreements, and to record rations or relief. General Band censuses -- including those for Bands who did not have Treaty paylists, were made more often and in greater detail after Confederation.

- The Treaty paylists. These record the token yearly cash annuities paid to some Bands in the pre-Confederation Ontario Treaties, and in all Bands in the two Robinson Treaties and the eleven "numbered" Treaties (covering northern Ontario, the Prairie provinces, northeastern British Columbia and the western NWT). These lists vary in detail; most name the head of each family in the group, and show family size, recent births, and deaths. Some, especially those after 1900, give information on ages of family members, places of residence, and the family's travels. Researchers can follow changes in each family by comparing a series of yearly paylists with each other. Treaty Paylists are, for many Bands, the only detailed source of population figures before 1951. For some purposes they even serve as official membership records. A sample list is given on page 148.

- Censuses of Indian Bands were also taken by the Department of Indian Affairs from time to time, in some periods at a given date (for instance, 31 June of a particular year). These can simply be head-counts

of total populations or more detailed statements broken down by age, sex, and religion. Most were done in an irregular or casual way, and tend to be unreliable. However, they may be the only sources of population figures for certain non-Treaty Bands between the 1850s and 1951.

- Other lists or counts can be found in (or reconstructed from) records such as Indian Affairs paylists recording the distribution of cash from Indian land sales (the "land payment" or "interest distribution" paylists); lists of claimants to "locations" in particular reserves; ration and welfare accounts; school attendance records; lists of voters on land surrenders; and the church and Federal census records already mentioned.

- Laws. The Indian Act and certain earlier laws lay down legal rules as to who is and is not an Indian. These have changed in important ways over the years, and tend to be quite complex, or even unclear. Always study them carefully when doing research, to make sure that you know what "the rules" are (or are supposed to be) for the case and time you are working on.

- Membership policy and case files. The Department of Indian Affairs keeps many records on the interpretation of status law and on particular people with status problems. These include letters, reports, legal opinions, and details of family history.

- Records on Métis rights and scrip. The Department of the Interior, between 1870 and 1930, kept records on the Métis people of the Prairie provinces. Most of these are in the Interior Department's "scrip" records, which document grants of scrip certificates worth certain amounts of land. These include a great deal of detailed family history about the Métis, and about Indian families related to them (including people who chose to move from Indian to Métis, or from Métis to Indian status).

Modern records (1951 to the present)

Besides those already described, the following are also helpful:

- The Indian Register. In 1951, the Department of Indian Affairs set up a central "Indian Register", as it was required to do by the new Indian Act of that year. The Register lists every person in Canada who is legally an Indian under the Indian Act. It gives all formally reported information about every person's birthdate, date of death, marriage, children's names and birthdates, transfers to other registration numbers or Bands, and any other status changes that have been formally registered with the Department.

- Band lists. Indian Affairs has issued full lists of Band members yearly since the middle 1960s, and intermittently back to 1951. These are in alphabetical order by surname, for each Band and each province, and show the birthdates and religion of each person. Some Band Councils now administer these lists themselves.

- Treaty paylists. Since the Register was set up in 1951, these have been used mainly to account for money. They are now much less detailed than the Indian Register.

- Policy and case files. The present files are much the same as those described for the period before 1951.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The short forms used for sources are:

DIAND: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program: current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).

PAC: Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).

RG-10: Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).



Some of the following records are restricted, according to the rules explained in Appendix 2 of this handbook.

DIAND (Ottawa)

Program Reference Centre: (a) Treaty Annuity Paylists, 1850-1955, and up to the 1970s for some Districts. (b) Interest distribution paylists, c. 1900-1955. (c) Miscellaneous collections of Indian population statistics, all Bands, mainly late 1950s to present. (d) "Alpha lists" of Indian status persons by Band or Province, 1951 to present. (e) "Proof of Age" records (ledgers of birthdates for various persons, various dates, mainly 1900 to present. (f) Microfiche copies of lists and ledgers relating to scrip, from PAC, RG-10 vols. 10035-10040. (g) Special census and baptismal records relating to British Columbia Bands, c.1900 to the present.

Central Registry Files: policy and case files on membership, including some open subject files in the 1/3-3 series, and other restricted series on special topics, such as the "Estates" series (wills and descent of property). Most membership files are restricted: researchers who need access should consult the Treaties and Historical Research Centre of DIAND in Ottawa, and/or the Registrar of Indian Membership.

Membership Division (Reserves and Trusts Branch): (a) The Indian Register, 1951 to present. (b) Various special lists, indexes and files relating to Indian status and membership (mainly restricted).

DIAND (Regional and District Offices)

Miscellaneous Band lists, Treaty paylists, membership policy files and "case" records. (INDEX: see the local office for access and information).

Public Archives of Canada

Miscellaneous Population Records: (a) Fur Trade Records: Hudson's Bay Company records in Manuscript Group 20 (MG-20; originals available in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg). Also other fur trade records, including some census material, in MG-19. (b) Military census records: Record Groups 8 and 9 and various Manuscript Groups, including MG-11, MG-21-G-2 (the Haldimand Papers) and MG-19-F (the Claus Papers). (c) Governmental census records: Canada Census Records, 1825-1881, in Record Group 31. Also available for borrowing on microfilm, and at some regional libraries. Organized by province and settlement or region. Catalogued in: Thomas A. Hillman, Catalogue of Census Returns on Microfilm, 1666-1881 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1981). Censuses after 1881 are not yet open to the public. (d) Scrip Records: mainly in Record Group 15 (Records of the Interior Department) but see also RG-10 volumes 10035-10040. Consult archivists for advice as to use.

RG-10: (a) Policy and "case" files on status and membership, scattered throughout RG-10: see especially subject indexes to the Black and Red Series and the New Accessions, under "Membership", "Admission to and Discharge from Treaty", "Transfers", "Individual Status", "Payment of Annuities", "Adoption", "Enfranchisement", "Commutation", "Marriage", "Divorce", and peripheral records under "Care of Children", "Wills", "Estates", "Rationing", and "Schools". See especially the groups of files in RG-10 volumes 7102-7115 (membership, general); volumes 3723-3725, 3996-3999, 6857-6877 and 7957-7976 (admission to and discharge from Band); 3969-3980 (payment of annuities); 7978-7979 (Indian marriages and divorces); 7195-7324 (enfranchisement); 8156-8173 (commutation); 7944-7957 and 8097-8099 (interest distribution); etc. There is a great deal of policy correspondence on membership and family law in the "Indian Act Amendment" files, especially in RG-10 volumes 6808-6812, files 470-1-3 and 470-2-3. (b) Robinson-Huron Treaty, paylists and Interest

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Distribution lists (field office copies), c.1898-1969 (RG-10, accession 79-80/6). (c) Band Membership lists, as first posted in 1951 (RG-10 accession 79-80/57). (d) Miscellaneous Agency "membership" rosters, including lists of persons entitled to local benefits such as provisions (the "ration books") and farm supplies. (Scattered throughout Agency records; see general indexes to RG-10, especially finding aid No. 40 on post-Confederation Agency records.)

RG-26: (Citizenship and Immigration Department): files on the extensive membership investigations of 1950-1960, including records on Caughnawaga, Sarnia, and various western Canadian Bands, scattered throughout volumes 70 to 74. (INDEX: none.)

Church Records

For birth, baptism, marriage and death records, see remarks on pages 227 to 229 and 357 of this handbook.

Published Sources

Censuses: Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, prints tables of census figures for all Bands in Canada in the years 1867 to 1918. Band Censuses for 1924, 1929, 1934, 1939, 1944, 1949, 1954, and 1959 are each available as separate booklets (Census of Indians in Canada, Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs/Indian Affairs Branch, 1925-60). DIAND has published Band-by-Band census figures for 1965-1980 in Registered Indian Population by Band... (Ottawa: DIAND, Statistics Division, 1973) and Registered Indian Population By Sex and Residence... (Ottawa: DIAND, Statistics Division, seven issues dated 1973-80).

Family History: Aside from Treaty paylists, Band lists and other membership records, researchers should investigate two general guides to genealogical or family history research: a good short (and free) guide by Patricia Kennedy and others, Tracing Your Ancestors in Canada (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada/Minister of Supply and Services, revised edition, 1981); and Eric Jonasson, The Canadian Genealogical Handbook (second edition, Winnipeg: Wheatfield Press, 1978). American family history sources are briefly described in V. Rogers, "The Indians and the Métis ..." Minnesota History (1979) volume 48(7), pages 286-296.

Anthropological and Medical Studies: For remarks on sources of population figures and information on historic population changes among Canadian Indians, see items listed under "Population and Vital Statistics" in: Bennett McCardle, Bibliography of the History of Canadian Indian and Inuit Health (Edmonton: Indian Association of Alberta, 1981), pages 9-13 and 66. For works on particular peoples, see George P. Murdock, Ethnographic Bibliography of North America, 4th edition (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1975). Useful advice on interpreting government, mission and fur trade family records is found in Mary Black and E.S. Rogers, "Adoption of a patrilineal surname system by bilateral northern Ojibwa: mapping the learning of an alien system" in William Cowan, ed. Papers of the 11th Algonquian Conference (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1980) pp. 198-230; E.S. Rogers and Mary Black, "Method for reconstructing patterns of change: surname adoption by the Weagamow Ojibwa, 1870-1950", Ethnohistory (1978) volume 25(4) pages 319-345; and Gordon M. Day, The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 71) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada 1981, pages 66-117.

Legal Studies: There are no complete reviews of the history of Indian status law. Some useful references are: "Indian status: what is the present law?" (Background paper, Ottawa: DIAND, n.d., c. 1973); Carleton University, Department of Law, Native Law Centre, A Study of

the Federal Indian Legislation Respecting Membership and Status (Unpublished report, Carleton University, April 1974; covers mainly the workings of the Indian Act since 1951); D.E. Sanders, "The Bill of Rights and Canadian Indian status", University of British Columbia Law Review (1972) vol. 7(1), pages 81-105; D. Sanders, Family Law and Native People: A Background Paper (Ottawa: Law Reform Commission of Canada/Supply and Services Canada, 1975); S. Imai and K. Laird, "The Indian status question: A problem of definition", Canadian Legal Aid Bulletin (1982) volume 5 (1) pages 113-123; University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, Indian Status and Membership Rights (N.L.C. Legal Information Service, Saskatoon, No. 1 of 1980); C. Chartier, "Indian: an analysis of the term as used in section 91(24) of the British North America Act, 1867", Saskatchewan Law Review (1978-79) volume 43: 37 ff., and N. Dyck, "Indian, métis, native: some implications of special status", Canadian Ethnic Studies (1980) vol. 12(1): 34-46. For a discussion of alternative membership systems, see A. Barry Edwards Consultants Ltd., Enrolment of Native Peoples in Canada: A Handbook for Participants in Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements (Ottawa: DIAND, Office of Native Claims, 1982). Court decisions on Indian membership are indexed in the Canadian Native Law Reporter (1978) vol. 1 (2) pages 30-46; cases since 1978 are reprinted in more recent issues.

Women's Status: Kathleen Jamieson's Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus (Ottawa: Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1978) reviews the general history of Canadian Indian women's status and family law since the early 1800s, although it does not pay adequate attention to archival material and case records before the 1960s. Related information on the period before 1900 is found in Sylvia Van Kirk's Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980), Jennifer Brown's Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980), and items listed in Rayna Green, Native American Women: A Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: U.S.



Department of Education/Wichita Falls, Texas: Ohoyo Resource Center, 1981). See also D.E. Sanders' "Indian women: a brief history of their roles and rights", McGill Law Journal (1975) vol. 21(4): 656-672; S.M. Weaver, "Indian women, marriage and legal status" in K. Ishwaran, ed. Marriage and Divorce in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, in press); Speaking Together. Canada's Native Women (Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1977); and a special issue of the Bulletin of the Canadian Association In Support of the Native People, (1978) volume 18(4).

For information on current political developments as to Indian womens' rights and section 12 (1)(b) of the Indian Act, contact the reference collections or libraries of the Assembly of First Nations (Ottawa), the Advisory Council for the Status of Women (Ottawa), and the Native Law Centre (Saskatoon). A partial summary is contained in the "First Report of the Subcommittee on Indian Women and the Indian Act", in: Canada, Parliament, Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings (October 1982, forthcoming).

## TREATY

[NAME OF BAND] Band. Paid at: [AGENCY OR LOCATION]

②	④	⑥				⑧				⑩	⑪
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
1	[NAME OF CHIEF]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Mrs. Anna E. M.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	Bigly	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	Land Tyler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Yellow legs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	Mrs. Anna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	John and wife	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John and wife	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Mr. and Mrs. Gray	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

## A TREATY PAYLIST

This is the first page of a typical "numbered Treaty" annuity payroll of the 1890s. Earlier and later lists vary in format, detail and accuracy. Copies of all paylists, dated 1850 to the 1970s, are kept in the Program Reference Centre (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, DIAND) in Ottawa. Duplicate copies of some lists are available in PAC, RG-10, and in the offices and archives. The poor quality of this document is due to the age of the original and the quality of the reproduction.

No. 11

7 October 1891

⑫

Has married 187- of his team one cow (NAME OF BAND) - driven under No. 97 ⑬

Boy Born

Girl died

Girl died. Girl married to No. 70 ⑭

Man died No. 97 187- of his team one cow (NAME OF BAND) - driven under No. 97 ⑮

Boy born at No. 97. arrived in the 1891 ⑯

last paid 1891.

do.

Dead.

last paid 1891.

Dead.

Girl died. 187- married to No. 70

Girl Born.

Dead. 187- married to No. 70 ⑰

20

TREATY PAYLIST: NOTES

1. Place and date of the Treaty payments.
2. Page number of sheet in original ledger book.
3. Treaty numbers (or "ticket numbers") of each person or family in the Band. Children were paid under their family number until they married or reached the age of 21. At that time they were usually (though not always) given their own ticket number. This numbering system was set up in 1880 and has been continued in east Treaty bands up to the present day, in more or less unbroken numerical sequence.
4. "Names" column. Only the names of heads of family are given, sometimes with translations. Spellings may vary widely from year to year. Occasionally (such as in the census years of 1939 and 1949) names of other family members are given.
5. Chiefs and Counsellors or Headmen ("H.M.s"). These are usually identified on the lists.
6. "Arrears" column. This shows late payments of Treaty money owing to people who have been absent from previous payments. For example, Men-a-pau (ticket number 6) was paid \$15.00 in arrears of annuity money for 3 people — himself, wife and child — which he had failed to collect in 1890.
7. Long-Term Arrears. Arrears ("shares"), owed to two people on ticket number 5 (apparently a woman and her daughter) were paid in 1896 to cover the year 1891. Arrears for the other years they were away, if paid, would be recorded on the sheets for the appropriate years. In this case the family's name had been erased from the list because of their long absence.
8. Breakdown of people paid. This column shows the numbers of men, women, boys, girls, and "other relatives" respectively that were actually paid in the current year (1891) under each ticket.
9. Total number paid. This column shows the gross total number of people paid under each ticket.
10. Total moneys paid. This column shows the total amounts or money paid to each family.
11. "Number paid when last paid". This shows the number of people paid in each family in the last previous year they were present to take payments.
12. "Remarks" column. This often contains valuable historical information.
13. "Indians not paid last year who have returned". This column was sometimes used to count returned absentees, and sometimes (in error) to count people transferred or married in from other Bands.
14. "Indians paid last year — absent this". This column was sometimes used to count absentees, and sometimes (in error) to count people who had died or permanently left the band.
15. "Births" and "Deaths" columns. Births and deaths in each family during the previous year.
16. This "Remark" means that one son, paid up to 1890 with his father the chief and his mother on ticket number 1, has married the daughter ("Dr.") of a person in another Band. The new couple has been given a new Treaty number (no. 97, shown on another page) and are now paid on their own.
17. This "Remark" means that one daughter, previously paid under this number, has married the man who has Treaty ticket number 75, and is now paid under his name. Also, the money owed to the "other relative" ("O.R.") has been paid to the daughter ("Dr.").
18. These families have been absent for many years. Their names have finally been taken off the list. Their treaty numbers will ordinarily not be re-used unless some member of the family returns.
19. "Totals" column. Numbers in each of these columns are carried forward and added up on the last page of the Band's payroll. Separate "recapitulation sheets" total the payments to all Bands in a region or Agency. Since the Agents often made adding mistakes, these figures should always be re-checked before use in research.
20. Initials or signatures of the officer making the payments are usually found at the end of each Band list, or at the end of the batch of lists for the Agency, or (as here) on each page of each list. In the 19th century, some paymasters also made out separate affidavits or certifications confirming the payments.

OTHER SUBJECTS

This section lists, very briefly, some archival sources for twelve other topics of interest to many researchers. These are:

- (a) The Canadian constitution;
- (b) Indian self-government and Band organization;
- (c) Indian education;
- (d) Indian health, medical care, and other social services;
- (e) justice and law enforcement;
- (f) urban Indian issues;
- (g) military issues (conscription and veterans' rights);
- (h) international issues (border-crossing and Canadian/American claims);
- (i) Indian religion;
- (j) Indian languages, literature, music and art;
- (k) Indian biographies and autobiographies; and
- (l) other native peoples (the Inuit, the Métis and aboriginal peoples outside Canada).

The short forms used here for sources are:

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program: current Central Registry files (in Ottawa, unless otherwise noted).
PAC	Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa).
RG-10	Historic records of the Department of Indian Affairs (in PAC, Record Group 10).

(a) THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

The new Canadian constitution is the single most important fact of life for researchers working on projects relating to aboriginal and Treaty rights today. The Constitution Act of 1982 will affect the rights of native peoples in important ways, but its exact legal meaning is not yet clear. It will probably not become clearer until Canadian courts make decisions on specific native rights cases brought before them, or unless changes are made to the Act. In the meantime, there will be much political and legal discussion of the Constitution Act's native rights clauses. These are as follows:

Part I ("Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms") clause 25:

"25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including

(a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and

(b) any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement."

Part II ("Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada") clause 35:

"35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

(2) In this Act, 'aboriginal peoples of Canada' includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada."



Part IV ("Constitutional Conference") clause 37:

"37. (1) A constitutional conference composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces shall be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada within one year after this Part comes into force.

(2) The conference convened under subsection (1) shall have included in its agenda an item respecting constitutional matters that directly affect the aboriginal peoples of Canada, including the identification and definition of the rights of those peoples to be included in the Constitution of Canada, and the Prime Minister of Canada shall invite representatives of those peoples to participate in the discussions on that item."

Other provisions of the Constitution may affect native rights indirectly; thus, concerned researchers should consult the full text of the Act. Note also the attachment or "schedule" to the Act ("Schedule... Modernization of the Constitution") that gives new official names to certain basic documents, such as the Manitoba Act, the admissions of British Columbia, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories to Confederation, and the Natural Resources Transfer Agreements.

By contrast, the Canadian constitution between 1867 and 1982 -- the British North America Act, a British statute -- referred to native rights in the following terms, taken from the United Kingdom Statutes, 1867, chapter 3, clause 91(24):

"91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order and good Government of Canada, in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the Generality of the foregoing Terms of this Section, it is hereby declared that

(notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated; that is to say —

...(24) Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians."

Researchers needing information about the legal meaning of the Constitution should, of course, get expert legal advice.

#### SOURCES

Text: For the full text of the new Constitution, see: Canada, The Constitution Act, 1982 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1982) or Canada, Statutes, 1981-82-83, "The Constitution Act" (chapter number to be announced). For the British North America Act, see: Canada, Revised Statutes, 1970, "Appendices" volume; Elmer A. Driedger, A Consolidation of the British North America Acts 1867 to 1965, Consolidated as of January 1, 1967 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1967); or Maurice Ollivier, British North America Acts and Selected Statutes 1867-1962 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963). Related constitutional documents affecting Indian rights, such as the Admission of Rupert's Land and the Natural Resources Transfer Agreements, are printed in Gail Hinge's Consolidation of Indian Legislation, volume 1 (Ottawa: Office of Native Claims, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1976) or (extracts only) in Derek G. Smith's Canadian Indians and the Law (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1975).

Background reading: As yet there are few accounts of the drafting and interpretation of the new Constitution. Useful outlines of the events leading up to the inclusion of the native rights clause in the Act are in Robert Sheppard and M. Valpy, The National Deal: Remaking the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: Fleet Books, 1982) and Edward McWhinney, Canada and the Constitution 1979-1982 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). More detailed information can be found in various daily

newspapers (especially the Toronto Globe and Mail) and the House of Commons and Senate Debates (Hansard), for the period January 1980 to September 1982. Native political positions during this period are abundantly documented in the Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and Senate on the Constitution of Canada (1980-81) and are partially summarized in John Moss, "Native proposals for constitutional reform", Journal of Canadian Studies (1980-81) volume 15(4): 85-92. Some of the major native position papers are available from DIAND's Program Reference Centre, Ottawa (reference: Acquisition List, May 1982). Native law issues are discussed in D. Sanders, "Aboriginal people and the constitution", Alberta Law Journal (1981) vol. 19:410-435 and K.M. Lysyk, "The rights and freedoms of the aboriginal peoples of Canada", in W.S. Tarnopolsky and G.A. Beaudoin, eds., The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Commentary (Toronto: Carswell, 1982) pages 467 - 488. Reviews of general issues are found in Richard Simeon's A Citizen's Guide to the Constitutional Question (Toronto: Business Council on National Issues/Gage Publishing, 1980) and Peter Hogg's The Canada Act Annotated (Toronto: Carswell, 1982). The text of the Supreme Court's decision on the validity of the "patriation" of the Act is in The Supreme Court Decisions on the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981). For other political position papers and legal material, consult the research offices and libraries of the Assembly of First Nations, the native organizations, the Federal Departments of Justice and Indian Affairs, the Native Law Centre (University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon), and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre (University of Ottawa Faculty of Law, 57 Copernicus Street, Ottawa, Ont. K1N 6N5, 1-613-231-3492).

A list of legal and historical material on native rights aspects of the British North America Act up to 1977 is in: Canada, Indian Claims Commission, Indian Claims in Canada: An Essay and Bibliography (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975) and Indian Claims in Canada: Supplementary Bibliography (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1979).

(b) INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT AND BAND ORGANIZATION

To research the history of Indian Band organization and Indian government, you will have to use a variety of published and unpublished sources. There has been surprisingly little written about this subject to date, apart from political position papers and brief histories of modern Indian political organizations. These tend to concentrate on forms of government recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs. There is also a scattering of anthropological research reports and unpublished field research. Current political developments relating to native proposals for new forms of government, and to the federal government's "Indian Government Bill", will probably soon result in further publications.

Historical projects on this subject would normally require a researcher to write a general "ethnohistory" of the peoples or communities concerned.

SOURCES

Department of Indian Affairs records: (a) General records relating to the political organization of Indian people before Confederation, scattered throughout RG-10 and the military and colonial records in RG-8, RG-9, MG-11 and related private papers in the Manuscript Division. (b) Policy and Band case files in RG-10 (the Red and Black Series, New Accessions, and Agency Records) relating to Band Council elections and operations, Band bylaws, and band organization generally. (INDEXES: computerized subject indexes and/or shelf lists to the records named, under the headings "Chiefs and Councillors", "Delegations and Deputations", "Complaints and Disputes", "Band Management", "Minutes of Council" (e.g., Band minutes, 1906-1965, in RG-10 vols. 7128-7141), "Rules and Regulations", "Bylaws", and "Indian Organizations").

DIAND (Ottawa and Regional Offices)

Central Registry files: Current files, dated mainly since 1956, on Band elections, bylaws, Band organization, Minutes of Council and Indian organizations. Researchers who want to collect a complete set of the "Minutes of Council" for a particular Band (if such minutes were kept, which is not always the case) must reconstruct it themselves from different sources, including Band records, Band "Election" files in Ottawa (at DIAND or at the PAC in the RG-10 "Agency Records") and DIAND Regional or District Offices. Some Bands in eastern Canada have minutes extending back to the early 19th century, but few Bands west and north of southern Ontario kept any regular Council or Band records until after 1945. (INDEX: files are organized by subject and region. Consult Treaties and Historical Research Centre for further information). Note also that DIAND's recent policy positions on Indian band government and band financing have been brought together in DIAND's controversial "local government guidelines" (DIAND, Indian-Inuit Affairs Program, Program Circulars D-1 to D-5, 1975; available in I.D.I.G. Library, Prince Albert, Sask.).

Program Reference Centre: Compiled lists of past Chiefs and Councillors for various Bands; also the Treaty Paylists or other records used to compile these lists. (INDEX: see the Centre for information.)

Statutory Requirements Division, Elections and By-laws Unit: Lists of all Chiefs and Councillors for each Band in Canada since 1956-58, with dates of election. (INDEX: by Band.)

Background Information: Information on traditional Indian leadership, and the influence on Indian politics of the fur trade, missions and governments, is scattered throughout the usual sources. Consult works on particular groups listed in George P. Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th edition, New



Haven: HRAF Press, 1975). See also recent research listed in the various general bibliographies on pages 197 - 210 of this handbook, especially the journal Canadian Ethnic Studies (1970) vol. 2(1): 95-115 and (1973) vol. 5(1-2): 153-182.

Band Councils: Information on the workings of Indian Band Councils (as recognized by the Canadian government) is also scattered throughout the literature, especially in recent studies of "reserve communities" and their social structure: see Thomas Abler et al., A Canadian Indian Bibliography 1960-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) and the current bibliographies listed on pages 199-210. There is also relevant material in the historic review of legislation relating to Band government by Wayne Daugherty and D. Madill, Indian Government Under Indian Act Legislation, 1868-1951 (Ottawa: Research Branch, DIAND, 1980); Don Whiteside, Contemporary Indian Protests: Reference Aids -- Bibliographies (3 vols., Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973); Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society and The Rebirth of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969 and 1977); M.S. Marule, "The Canadian government's termination policy ..." in I.A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith, eds., One Century Later ... (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978) pp. 103-116; and essays by McNickle, Elias and Dunning in Marc-Adélaïd Tremblay, ed., The Patterns of 'Amerindian' Identity (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976).

Indian associations and political groups above the Band level: these are discussed in: Wayne Daugherty, "A guide to native political associations in Canada" (unpublished paper, Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1982), a brief history; Richard Lueger, "A History of Indian associations in Canada (1870-1970)", M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1977; Don Whiteside, Historical Development of Aboriginal Political Associations in Canada... (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood,

1973), a chronology with some references; Don Whiteside, "Efforts to develop aboriginal political associations in Canada, 1850-1965" (unpublished paper, Aboriginal Institute of Canada, Ottawa, 1974); N. Dyck, "The politics of special status: Indian associations and the administration of Indian Affairs", in: Jorgen Dahlie and T. Fernando, eds., Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada (Vol. VIII, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Toronto: Methuen, 1981) pp. 279-291; John A. Price, Native Studies: Canadian and American Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1978) pp. 155-179 and 226-239; J. Rick Ponting and R. Gibbins, Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-Political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada (Scarborough, Ont.: Butterworth, 1980); S.M. Weaver, Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1974) pp. 111-155; E.P. Patterson III, "Andrew Paull and the early history of British Columbia Indian organizations" in: I.A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith, One Century Later... (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978) pp. 43-54; F.E. LaViolette, The Struggle For Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in B.C. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) pp. 145-176; Murray Dobbin, The One-and-a-Half Men (Vancouver: New Star, 1981), on the Prairie organizations; James Burke, Paper Tomahawks (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1976), on the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood; M. Boldt, "Canadian native Indian leadership: context and composition", Canadian Ethnic Studies (1980) vol. 12(1): 15-33; M. Boldt, "Philosophy, politics, and extralegal action: native leaders in Canada", Ethnic and Racial Studies (1981) vol. 4(2): 205-221; Ronald F. Bakker, "Minority group politics: the case of the Canadian Indians" (M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, 1971); and Ernest L. Schusky, Political Organization of Native North Americans (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980).

Indian participation in Canadian government has, of course, been limited by the historic curtailment of the Indian right to vote. Material on this policy is scattered throughout DIAND and PAC, RG-10 (see the general subject indexes). See also R.H. Bartlett "Citizens minus: Indians and the right to vote", Saskatchewan Law Review (1980-81) vol. 44:163 ff., and R. Santi, "Indian participation in federal elections" (unpublished paper, Research Branch, Corporate Policy, DIAND, May 1981), including a chronology of Indian voting rights issues.

Current legal and political developments, especially the debate over new forms of Band government and the "Indian Government Bill", are documented in the reference collections of most native organizations. See especially the Assembly of First Nations in Ottawa; the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa; and the Native Law Centre in Saskatoon. A good basic list of recent works is Materials on Indian Government in I.D.I.G. Library (Prince Albert, Sask.: Institute For the Development of Indian Government, Library, March 1981; also available in the DIAND Library, Ottawa). Writing on this subject often overlaps with writing on aboriginal rights issues and the Constitution.

Band Bylaws: With a few exceptions, there is no central source for the by-laws of particular Bands, or indeed for Band bylaws generally. Collections must be reconstructed using the following records:

(a) Bylaws before 1971: From internal records of the Council concerned, or from DIAND Central Registry files, entitled "Band Management", "Rules and Regulations", "Band Bylaws" or "Council Bylaws". Some of these files have been transferred to the P.A.C. and will be found there in record group RG-10. (b) Bylaws since 1971: From the office of the Registrar of Statutory Instruments, Privy Council, Room 300, 85 Sparks St., Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0A3, tel. 1-613-996-1561. A fee is charged for copying. Bylaws are indexed here by Band and date only. They are also indexed upon registration (though not printed in full) in the government publication The Canada Gazette, Part II.

(c) INDIAN EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

A great deal has been written about Indian education in Canada, and the available material can be divided up into three groups. The first includes works on traditional Indian teaching methods. The second is made up of histories of particular schools, and histories of Indian Affairs school policies. The third includes works on special teaching techniques and learning problems in Indian education today, written by teachers, sociologists and psychologists.

The Department of Indian Affairs has kept detailed records on Indian schools in Canada since the middle of the 19th century. The churches, who until recently ran most special Indian schools, also kept records which reach much further back in time. You can use these to research most types of project without too much difficulty, although the detail available varies from archive to archive and from school to school. Some researchers combine this archival research with oral history -- that is, interviews with living ex-pupils and ex-teachers.

## SOURCES

Public Archives of Canada

Indian Affairs Records (RG-10): (a) the "Schools Files" series: detailed files on all aspects of school administration, including policy, attendance, curriculum, financing, etc., 1879-1973 (RG-10 vols. 6001-6491 and 7083-7092, with subject index); other general policy files, 1896-1966 (RG-10 vols. 7180-7194 and 8753-8810). (INDEX: see computerized subject index to the "Schools Files", on microfiche). (b) DIA Schools Branch letterbooks, 1893-1897 (RG-10 volumes 1070, 1287-1302 and 1726-1727, each self-indexed). (c) Miscellaneous school reports and inspection reports, various regions, 1884-1900 (RG-10 volumes 5991-92), 1909-1968 (RG-10 volumes 8437-8474) and 1951-1968 (RG-10 volumes 8993-9001). (d) Economic assistance to ex-pupils, 1932-35 (RG-10 vol. 7942) and pupil's savings accounts,

1897-1965 (RG-10 vols. 8129-8156). (e) School maintenance and buildings, 1901-1966 (RG-10 vols. 6492-6603 and 8233-8279). (f) School conferences, 1953-1964 (RG-10 vol. 8576). (g) School staffing, 1909-1968 (RG-10 vols. 8596-8615). (h) Various other schools policy and administration records for all periods, scattered throughout RG-10. (INDEX: see the "green inventory" for pre-Confederation records; the computerized indexes to Black and Red Series and New Accessions, under "Schools", "Education", "Churches" and the names of particular schools; and Mathesons's "Schools File" Indexes in RG-10 Accession 76-7/124, box 1, files 2-5). (i) Various reports on schools, scattered throughout the Agency Records. (INDEX: see "green inventory" for RG-10 and the special RG-10 finding aid #40, "Agency records".)

PAC, RG-1 section "E" and RG-2 series 1: Orders-in-Council granting funds and appointing staff for various Indian schools, 1841 to present. (INDEX: by year and subject.)

#### Other Archival Sources

DIAND (Ottawa and Regional and District Offices): (a) Central Registry files on schools policy and particular schools, dated mainly (but not only) since 1930. (INDEX: by subject or province and name of school.) (b) Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Ottawa: document collections on a selection of Indian schools. (c) Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, found in the Canada Sessional Papers for 1867 to 1916; these contain detailed reports on Indian schools and on DIA education policy. Information published after 1916 tends to be general and brief.

Church Records: These may be essential for research on particular schools. See the description of mission records on pages 227 - 229 and 357 of this handbook.



School Records: Some existing Indian schools still retain their own records on Indian pupils, funding, policy, curriculum and administration. Approach them for details.

#### Background Information

There is no adequate general history of Indian education in Canada. Useful information can be found in: Elmer Jamieson, "Indian education in Canada", M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1922; H.J. Vallery, "A history of Indian education in Canada", M.A. thesis, Queens University, 1942; G.D. Gibson, "Jesuit education of the Indians in New France, 1611-1658", Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1940; H. Ralston, "Religion, public policy and the education of Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1605-1872", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (1981) vol. 18(4): 470-498; J.D. Wilson, "'No blanket to be worn in school': the education of Indians in early 19th century Ontario", Histoire Sociale/Social History (1974) vol. 7:293-305; Robert J. Carney, "Relations in education between the federal and territorial governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, N.W.T., 1867-1961", Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971; J. Gresko, "White 'rites' and Indian 'rites': Indian education and native responses in the West, 1870-1910", in A.W. Rasporich, ed., Western Canada Past and Present (Calgary: McClelland & Stewart, 1974) pp. 163-182; E.L. Bullen, "An historical study of the education of the Indians of Teslin, Yukon Territory", M.A. thesis, University of Alberta 1968; Lionel G. Marshall, "The development of education in northern Saskatchewan", The Musk-Ox (1967) vol. 1:19-25; M.-A. Tremblay, "L'éducation des Indiens: un modèle d'analyse de l'échec des agences blanches", Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada (1978) vol. 16: 171-193; E.R. Daniels, "The legal context of Indian education in Canada", Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1973; Thomas Thompson, ed., The Schooling of Native America (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher

Education, 1978); various articles printed in the quarterly Canadian Journal of Native Education (Edmonton, 1973 to present); and articles in "Learning for self-determination", special issue of the Canadian Journal of Native Studies (1982) volume 2(1).

Further materials, including works on the traditional, historical, technical, philosophical and political aspects of native education, are listed in a later section of this handbook on Christian missions (page 176) and in: I.R. Brooks, Native Education in Canada and the United States: A Bibliography (Calgary: University of Calgary, Office of Educational Development, 1975), and the Abler, Murdock and Whiteside bibliographies listed on pages 199 - 210 of this handbook.

#### (d) INDIAN HEALTH, MEDICAL CARE AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES

Health: No one has yet written the history of Indian health in Canada. To write about health in a specific community -- and to see how health conditions have changed over time -- you will have to read a wide variety of archival records and technical studies. Look at population and family records to find "vital statistics" (rates of birth and death), and patterns of illness. Find out more about health, nutrition, sanitation, and diseases, both before and after the arrival of white men (that is, in aboriginal times, during the fur trade, and after people were gathered on reserves). When did the first outside health services -- vaccinations, X-ray facilities, nurses, doctors, hospitals, and clinics -- come to your community? How have they changed since that time? What effect have they had on your community's health? What relations did Indian people have with non-Indian medical people?

You may find that a project of this kind is difficult to research, because there are few easily available sources. If so, get help from people who have worked on the subject before: nurses, doctors, or teachers with expert knowledge of health matters. They may be able to help

you understand archival information on population changes, or may give you technical information on particular diseases. They could find other professional people to give you special help.

Social Services: There is also no general history of social services to Canadian Indian people. Little has been written about the background of welfare, relief, rationing, child care, and disabled persons' assistance for Indian people. Much of this will have to be researched "from scratch", using sources on the local history of your community and other special records listed below.

#### SOURCES

##### Public Archives of Canada

Indian Affairs records (RG-10): Information on Indian health and social services is scattered everywhere throughout the records, especially in general descriptions of conditions on particular reserves. (INDEXES: see the PAC's various lists and finding aids to pre-Confederation materials in RG-10 volumes 1 to 1854, Agency records, the Red and Black Series, and (to a lesser extent) the New Accessions. See headings indicating general Agency reports, "Health", "Medicine", "Hospitals", "Doctors" and the names of particular diseases; for social services, see for instance, "Welfare", "Relief", "Rations", "Disabled", "Blind", "Needy mothers", and "Child Care".) The bulk of health policy material after 1920 is in the Health and Welfare Canada files (below). Isolated 20th century files on health and social services are found in the RG-10 New Accessions, especially 72/604, 72/605 and 72/607.

Other Record Groups: There is some scattered material on 20th century Indian health and social services in record groups RG-22 (Northern Affairs), RG-26 (Citizenship and Immigration), RG-29 (National Health and Welfare), RG-54 (Comptroller of the Treasury), and RG-58 (Auditor-General).

### Government Departments

DIAND (Ottawa and Regional Offices): Policy files on Indian health, dating mainly from 1945 to the present (in the file series 1/17-1 to 1/17-20) and Social Services files (in the series 1/10-1 to 1/10-14, Relief and Welfare). (INDEX: see Treaties and Historical Research Centre.)

The Medical Services Branch of Health and Welfare Canada (Ottawa and Regional Offices). This office keeps a wide variety of files, including the federal government's central policy files on Indian health generally since about 1920; files on particular hospitals, clinics and disease treatments; and individual case files. Ottawa's collection is particularly complete. (INDEX: contact the Native Health Services office of the Medical Services Branch, Health and Welfare Canada, Ottawa, for access and further information.)

### Other Sources

General: Look for information on Indian health and social services in local history sources such as ethnological records; mission records; provincial government files on health, welfare and social insurance; and the archives of particular Indian organizations, especially the Health Program of the Assembly of First Nations (National Indian Brotherhood). For general descriptions of conditions, see also the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1867-1945; the Annual Reports of the Department of National Health and Welfare and its branches for 1945 to the present; and the separate annual reports of Health and Welfare's Indian and Northern Health Services Directorate (1955-62) and the Medical Services Branch (1962 to present). Note that at some periods the government censored its

published reports, removing descriptions of serious epidemics or poor Indian health conditions. Full texts can sometimes be found on the files.

Population and Vital Statistics: Special sources are described on pages 144 - 148 of this handbook, under "Indian Status and Membership". Note especially that membership records such as Treaty Annuity paylists can often be used to trace causes and rates of mortality.

Published Secondary Sources: No satisfactory general works on Indian health are yet available, although much has been published on specific issues. C.R. Maundrell's "Indian Health, 1867-1940" (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1941) is a useful review of reserve-period health and government medical services, based on archival sources. It has been partly summarized and updated in G. Graham-Cumming's "Health of the Original Canadians, 1867-1967" (Medical Services Journal of Canada (1967) vol. 23(2): 115-166), but the original thesis should be used for in-depth projects. One of the few papers to attempt a complete history of Indian health for a particular region is T.K.H. Young's "Indian health care in northwestern Ontario: health status, medical care, and social policy" (M.Sc. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1979). Detailed studies of population, nutrition and epidemic disease among particular Canadian Indian groups (especially the boreal-forest peoples during the aboriginal and fur trade periods) are available. Other subjects dealt with by recent writers include traditional Indian medical practices and attitudes, nutrition, sanitation, particular diseases (especially smallpox and tuberculosis), mental health, and modern health care delivery problems. See list in Bennett McCardle, A Bibliography of the History of Canadian Indian and Inuit Health (Edmonton: Indian Association of Alberta, 1981) and Mark V. Barrow et al., Health and Disease of American Indians North of Mexico: A Bibliography, 1800-1969 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press 1972).



Historical writing on social services is limited. For partial lists, see Thomas Abler and S.M. Weaver, A Canadian Indian Bibliography 1960-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) and Don Whiteside's various bibliographies, including Aboriginal People (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973). More recent items can be found in the libraries of the Assembly of First Nations (Ottawa), the Department of Indian Affairs (Ottawa) and regional Indian organizations. \*

#### (e) JUSTICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Files relating to native people and the administration of justice can be found in archives and various government departments. These records break down into three groups: (a) general records on law enforcement history and policy; (b) subject files on specific offences, such as juvenile delinquency, theft, and murder; and (c) "case files" on the trials and conviction of particular people, some of which date back to the early 19th century.

Some of these records (especially those dated since 1950, and some "case files") may be closed to researchers unless the permission of the defendant is given.

#### SOURCES

##### Public Archives of Canada

RG-10 (Department of Indian Affairs): various subject files and other records dating from 1867 onward, in the Red and Black Series, the New Accessions and the Agency Records. (INDEXES: see the general computerized subject indexes and file lists for these groups, under the headings "Law Enforcement" (e.g. RG-10 volumes 8848-49 and 7979-81), "case files" (e.g. RG-10 volumes 7464-76 and 7995-8096), "juvenile delinquency", "theft", "murder and manslaughter",

"immorality", "jails", etc.) (b) RG-13 (Department of Justice): case files on native offenders, dated mainly 1858-1950, involving murder (section C-1), parole (C-2), penitentiaries, c. 1830-1880 (C-3), and files on trials connected with the Riel Rebellions (A-4 and B-2). (c) RG-18 (RCMP Records): case files on native offenders, miscellaneous crimes, 1880-1938 (section B-5). (d) RG-22 (DIAND): cases files on offences committed in the North. (e) RG-73 (Solicitor-General): statistics and policy files on penitentiaries and prisons, and files on native offenders, 1947-1964 (volumes 52-54 and 82); files on imprisonment of native rebels, 1885-1889 (volume 172).

#### Records of Government Departments

(a) DIAND, Central Registry Files: subject files on native offenders and law enforcement, mainly since 1950 (in the file series 1/18-1 to 1/18-37). (b) Secretary of State: Current research files on native people and the justice system. (Contact the Secretary of State, Native Citizens' Directorate, for further information.) (c) Other Departments: statistical material from various sources, as reviewed in M.A. Rahim's Guide to Statistics on Native Offenders (Ottawa: Office of the Solicitor General, Information Systems and Statistics Division, 1977).

#### Background Information

A substantial collection of information on native people and the justice system is available at the Canadian Claims Research Centre of the School of Human Justice, University of Regina. See also items listed in Curt T. Griffiths et al., Native North Americans: Crime, Conflict and Criminal Justice: A Research Bibliography (Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, Criminology Research Centre, 1982); and Thomas Abler and S.M. Weaver, A Canadian Indian Bibliography, 1960-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Recent

reviews include "The prison experience and Canada's native people", Tawow, special issue (1982) volume 8(1); "Native People and Justice in Canada" (special issues, Canadian Legal Aid Bulletin (1982) Vol. 5, no. 1 and vol. 5 no. 2); and William T. Badcock and G. Michalis, Native People and Canada's Justice System: Programmes and Issues (2 volumes), Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, 1979. C. Schuh's "Justice on the Frontier: early murder trials of native accused", Criminal Law Quarterly (1979) volume 22 (1): 74-111, discusses the political and judicial context of early western and northern law enforcement. For material on the RCMP and native people, see: Alan F.J. Artibise's Western Canada Since 1870 (Vancouver: University of B.C. Press, 1978); V.P. Arora, Royal Canadian Mounted Police: A Bibliography of Resource Material (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Archives Series #5, 1973); and R.G. Macleod's The North West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement 1873-1905 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

#### (f) URBAN INDIAN ISSUES

The extent of archival records on Indian people in Canadian cities is not yet known. Sources such as the records of government offices in charge of social services, or records of native organizations, could be explored by enterprising researchers. Some useful secondary works are available.

#### SOURCES

##### Archival Material

Public Archives of Canada: (a) Indian Affairs Records (RG-10): policy file on Indians living off reserves, 1933-34 (RG-10 vol. 6817 file 481-1-1); (b) Citizenship and Immigration files (RG-26 volume 69) on Indian and Métis friendship centres, 1958-1966.

DIAND (Ottawa and Regional Offices): Central Registry policy and case files on Indians living off reserves (e.g. Ottawa file 1/3-3-11, 1936 to present) and on social and health services to Indians off reserves, as described earlier in this handbook under "Health". (INDEX: consult Treaties and Historical Research Centre.)

Department of National Health and Welfare, Medical Services Branch (Ottawa): policy files on medical and other social services for Indians off reserves, 1920s to present. Material is interfiled with policy correspondence on Indian health generally. (INDEX: consult Medical Services Branch for information.)

#### Published Material

For general summaries, see W.T. Stanbury and J.H. Siegel, Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975); John A. Price, "Urban Indians" in Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978, pages 130-169); Jack Waddell and O.M. Watson, editors, The American Indian in Urban Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971); D.N. McCaskill, "The urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: a comparative study", Culture (1981) vol. 1 (1): 82-89; Edgar J. Dosman, Indians: The Urban Dilemma (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972); Larry Krotz, Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1980); and Stewart J. Clatworthy, The Demographic Composition and Economic Circumstances of Winnipeg's Native Population (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1980). For further reading, see Russell Thornton et al., The Urbanization of American Indians: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982); Wayne G. Bramstedt, North American Indians in Towns and Cities: A Bibliography (Public Administration Series Bibliography P-234, Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1979) or James N. Kerri's American Indians (U.S. and Canada): A Bibliography of Contemporary Studies and Urban Research (Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians, 1973) with its Supplement To the General Bibliography Section (Exchange Bibliography No. 594, 1974).

(g) MILITARY ISSUES

The federal government has records on two military issues of interest to researchers: first, special Indian rights as to conscription and military service, and second, special treatment of Indian veterans.

Material on Indians, conscription and military enlistment is scattered throughout the archival records listed below. Material on veterans' rights, including rights to pensions and land (under special laws relating to Indian "soldier settlers") can be found in subject files of various Indian veterans' organizations, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the federal Department of Veterans' Affairs.

It is interesting to note that some Indian groups were treated as veterans of the British army as early as the 1820s, as a result of the War of 1812. The issue of whether Indians were liable to conscription was raised during both World Wars and during the negotiation of several Treaties. Canadian military records from World Wars I and II also contain information on special native units and native rights issues.

## SOURCES

Archival Material

Public Archives of Canada: (a) RG-10 (Indian Affairs): files on Indians, conscription, and enlistment, 1916-1957 (RG-10 volumes 6762-6806 and 7150-51); and on Indian soldier settlement, c. 1918-1950 (e.g. volumes 7484-85). (INDEX: consult subject indexes to Red and Black Series and New Accessions.) (b) Colonial Military Records (RG-8, RG-9 and early volumes of RG-10): information on Indian military participation in colonial wars generally. (INDEX: see background reading below for guidance; use the general inventories and consult archivists for further help.) (c) National Defence files (RG-24): subject files on conscription and other native issues, and on



particular native units. (INDEX: see RG-24 "Army Series" subject index in PAC.) (d) Department of Labour (RG-27): files on wartime use of native labour, 1943-54 (volumes 605 and 624). (e) Veterans' Affairs (RG-38): case files on Indian war veterans and Veterans' Land administration, 1917-1972.

DIAND (Ottawa): Policy files on military service and Indian war veterans.

(INDEX: consult Treaties and Historical Research Centre.)

#### Background Information

See the legal review by the University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, Indian Veterans' Rights (Legal Information Service Report #3, 1979); historical works listed in Robert J. Surtees, Canadian Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1982), especially the section on "Military Policy"; and D.C. Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War", in: Canada In The Great World War: An Authentic Account... (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1919) vol. 3, pp. 285-328. Historical documents on recent issues (Indian veterans' lands and pensions) have been collected by the three Prairie Indian organizations and the local and national Indian Veterans' Associations. Consult these for further information.

#### (h) INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

International issues that concern Indian historical researchers include (a) the meaning of the Jay Treaty of 1794 and "border-crossing" issues relating to it, such as the application of customs and immigration laws to Indians; (b) Canadian Indian residence abroad as affected by the Indian Act before 1951; (c) Indians' citizenship rights generally; (d) the status of American Indian people in Canada; and (e) Canadian Indians' land and money claims in the USA. Historical records on each of these subjects can be found in Ottawa archives.

## SOURCES

Archival Material

Public Archives of Canada: (a) Indian Affairs Records (RG-10): files on the Jay Treaty; the deportation of American Indians and Canadian Indians resident in the USA, 1916-1966 (RG-10 volumes 6819-21, 7103, 7980 and 8855); rights of "Rebel" Indians residing abroad without permission (RG-10, Black Series, various files). (INDEX: see general subject indexes to RG-10, and files on particular border-area bands (e.g. St. Regis, Caughnawaga) listed in the subject indexes to Black and Red Series and the New Accessions.) (b) Governor General's Records (RG-7-G-21) and External Affairs Records (RG-25-G-1): files on Canadian Indian claims in the USA, and border-crossing issues after 1900. (INDEX: see subject indexes for the records named, under "Indian" or the name of the group (Sioux, Potawatomi, Cayuga, etc.)) (c) Department of Justice Records (RG-13) on Potawatomi and Cayuga claims in the USA (section B-7 vol. 68 file 6223 and C-1 volume 2085). (d) Citizenship and Immigration (RG-26 Volume 74 file 1648) legal file on border-crossing and citizenship issues, 1940s to 1950s; (e) Department of Labour (RG-27 volume 665) file on border crossing, 1943-1954. (f) Immigration file (RG-76 volume 854 file 554-16) on the Jay Treaty and related issues, 1925-66.

DIAND (Ottawa and Regional Offices): Policy and regional (Band-by-Band) files on border-crossing, citizenship and related issues. (INDEX: see local offices for access and further information.)

Background Information

The Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, 1794-1796 (Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1979) includes a bibliography on Jay's Treaty. Claims against the USA by the Oneida, Cayuga, Potawatomi, and St. Regis Bands are summarized on pages

84-103 of Richard Daniel's A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada 1867-1979 (Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, 1980). Material on American claims brought before the U.S. Indian Claims Commission (some of which may affect Canadian Indians) is reprinted in: Native American Rights Fund, Inc. Indian Claims Commission Decisions, 35 vols., with Index (Boulder, Colo: NARF, 1973-75).

(i) RELIGION

There are no general histories of Canadian native religion. Aside from the knowledge of living persons, much information on traditional Indian worship and belief is scattered throughout the published material and archival records. There are also, of course, abundant Christian mission records relating to the conversion of Indian peoples. Most of the information needed by researchers working on traditional and other Indian religions is in ethnological archives or publications.

SOURCES

Archival Material

Public Archives of Canada: (a) RG-10: various records, concentrating mainly on Christianity and schools, scattered throughout RG-10 (INDEXES: see the general finding aids to RG-10 volumes 1-1854 and the subject indexes to the Red and Black Series and the New Accessions, under such headings as "Religion", "Churches", "Pagans", and the names of particular Bands or ceremonies -- e.g. "Sundance". See also policy files in RG-10 accession 74-5/31 box 5A on the North American Native Church and on Indian healing. Note that Indian Affairs records on schools contain useful information on traditional religion as well as on conversion to Christianity.) (b) MG-17: records relating to the history of various churches in Canada, including much material on missions to Indians from the 17th century onward. (INDEX: see General Inventory to MG-17 and consult archivists for assistance.)

Other Archives: (a) Church and provincial archives across Canada hold records relating to Christian missions to the Indians. See remarks on these records and locations and collections on pages 227 - 229 and 357 of this handbook. (b) Anthropological research records often contain descriptions of traditional religious practices. For guides to collections, see pages 256, 197 - 210 and 353 - 357 of this handbook.

### Background Reading

Traditional Religion: Much of the information on traditional Canadian Indian religion is in ethnological works describing particular peoples. The best bibliography for this subject is still George P. Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th edition, New Haven: HRAF Press, 1975). See also the following reviews and bibliographies: John A. Price, Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978, pages 94-112, "The evolution of religion"); Elisabeth Tooker, ed., Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); Earle H. Waugh and K.D. Prithipaul, eds., Native Religious Traditions (Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1979); Ruth Underhill, Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); G. Tissot, "Identité et symbole: nous et les Amérindiens", Studies in Religion (1972) vol. 2(1): 11-35; C. Vecsey, "American Indian environmental religions" in Christopher Vecsey and R.W. Venables, ed. American Indian Environments (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1980, pp. 1-37); Ake Hultkrantz, The Religions of the American Indians (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), with a good bibliography; Ake Hultkrantz, "North American Indian religion in the history of research: a general survey" (Parts 1-4), History of Religions (1966-67) vol. 6(2):91-107, vol. 6(3): 183-207; vol. 7(1):13-34; and vol. 7(2):112-148; Ake Hultkrantz, "The study of North American Indian religion: retrospect, present trends and future tasks", Temenos (1965) vol. 1:87-121;

Bennett McCardle, Bibliography of the History of Canadian Indian and Inuit Health (Edmonton: Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 1981), sections on traditional healing and mental health; and C.R. Wilson, "Shamans and charlatans: the popularization of native American religion in magazines, 1865-1900", The Indian Historian, (1978) vol. 12(3):6-13.

Collections of religious texts, myths and folk-tales are listed in G.P.

Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th ed., 1975); Edward Buller's Indigenous Performing and Ceremonial Arts in Canada: A Bibliography (Toronto: Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts, 1981); Indian-Inuit Authors: An Annotated Bibliography (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1974); Judith C. Ullom, Folklore of the North American Indians: An Annotated Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1970) and Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Department, Catalog of Folklore, Folk Life and Folk Songs (2d edition, Boston: G.K. Hall, 1961, and a Supplement, 1974; 37 volumes).

Christianity: Information on missionaries and native Christianity is abundant but still widely scattered in the literature. Researchers should consult the general bibliographies on pages 197 - 210 of this handbook (especially the Reader's Guide to Canadian History, Surtees, Thibault, Thwaites, and Abler); the special references on schools on pages 160 - 163; the annual bibliography of Canadian church history published in the Bulletin of the Canadian Catholic History Association; and two important US-oriented reviews, James P. Ronda and J. Axtell, Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978) and James Axtell, "Some thoughts on the ethnohistory of missions", Ethnohistory (forthcoming). Some useful Canadian works are: Cornelius Jaenen's various studies, including Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), "The



frenchification and evangelization of the Amerindians in seventeenth century New France", Study Sessions of the Canadian Catholic History Association (1979), and "Missionary approaches to native people" in D. Muise, ed., Approaches to Native History in Canada (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977, pages 5-15); P.G. LeBlanc, "Indian missionary contacts in Huronia, 1615-1649", Ontario History (1968) vol. 60:133-146; R. Conklin, "Legitimacy and conversion in social change: the case of French missionaries to the northeastern Algonkians" Ethnohistory (1974) vol. 21: 1-24; Francois-Marc Gagnon, La conversion par l'image: un aspect de la mission des Jésuites... (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1975); M. Dumont-Johnson, Apôtres ou agitateurs. La France missionnaire en Acadie (Trois-Rivières: Boréal Express, 1970); Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Social Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1764-1867 (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975); and Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974).

#### (j) LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, MUSIC AND ART

Archival records contain some information on these subjects, including material on folk traditions, antiquities and recent art and artists. Because of the complexity of some of the scholarly studies, especially those on language and music, an extended list of reference works is given here.

#### SOURCES

Music: For good general reviews of Indian and Inuit music, with bibliographies, see Helmut Kallmann, et al. (eds.) Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981, pages 448-453 and 458-460) and Marcia Herndon, Native American Music (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1980). Further readings are listed in Edward

Buller's Indigenous Performing and Ceremonial Arts in Canada: A Bibliography (Toronto: Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts, 1981); Ian and Patricia Bradley, A Bibliography of Canadian Native Arts: Indian and Eskimo Arts, Crafts, Dance and Music (Victoria, B.C.: GLC Publications, 1977); J.J. Nattiez' "La musique indienne sur disque: Cent ans d'ethnomusicologie", Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1981) vol. 11(3) pp. 251-261; M.F. Guéron, "Canadian Indian ethnomusicology: select bibliography and discography", Ethnomusicology (1972) 16(3): 465-478; and R.M. Stone's "Twenty-five years of selected films in ethnomusicology: the Americas (1955-1980)", Ethnomusicology (1982) vol. 26(2): 305-316. See also the journal Ethnomusicology (1956 to present) for much technical and academic material on Canadian native music. Original Indian song and music recordings, made by Frances Densmore, Marius Barbeau and others, can be found in the collections of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa and some of the larger regional museums. Addresses are given in Appendix 4 of this book.

Art: The best reading lists are Ian and Patricia Bradley's A Bibliography of Canadian Native Arts, listed above, and Glen Wardwell and L. Lebov's Annotated Bibliography of Northwest Coast Indian Art (N.Y.: Library of the Museum of Primitive Art, 1970). Some useful general works are: Nancy-Lou Patterson, Canadian Native Art (Don Mills: Collier MacMillan, 1973); Ted J. Brasser, Bo'jou, Neejee! Profiles of Canadian Indian Art (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976); Olive P. Dickason, Indian Arts in Canada (Ottawa: DIAND, 1972); Cyril Simard, Artisanat Québécois, 3. Indiens et Esquimaux (Montréal: Editions de l'Homme, 1977); and Norman Feder, American Indian Art (N.Y.: Harry V. Abrams, 1969). Also available are a wide variety of shorter bibliographies, books and articles on related subjects such as craftwork, picture-writing, petroglyphs, sign language and games. For a partial list, see G.P. Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th edition, New Haven: HRAF Press, 1975). "How-to" guides on particular Indian crafts are

found in various issues of the U.S. periodicals American Indian Tradition (formerly The Hobbyist) and Powwow Trails; see also Richard C. Schneider's Crafts of the North American Indians: A Craftsman's Manual (Cincinnati, Ohio: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1972).

Some recently published biographies of contemporary Indian artists are: B.C. Indian Arts Society, Mungo Martin, Man of Two Cultures (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1982); Lister Sinclair and Jack Pollock, The Art of Norval Morisseau (Toronto: Methuen, 1979); Kenneth James Hughes, The Life and Art of Jackson Beardy (Winnipeg: Canadian Dimension Publishers, 1979); and Edith Iglauer, "The myth maker" (Bill Reid), Saturday Night (February 1982) vol. 97(2):13-24.

Most major Canadian museums (with the notable exception of the National Gallery of Canada) have collections of native art. See especially the collections of the University of British Columbia Museum (Vancouver), the Provincial Museum of British Columbia (Victoria), the Glenbow-Alberta Institute (Calgary), the Manitoba Museum of Man (Winnipeg), the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), the National Museum of Man (Ottawa), and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Ottawa). Some Indian bands and cultural groups have significant local art collections. These institutions usually have reference libraries, catalogues or historical documents that can be used by researchers.

Language: Listed here are three different types of language studies: (a) linguistic studies, or in-depth works on specific languages or language groups, including grammars, dictionaries and analyses, (b) texts in native languages, and (c) histories of government and church policy with regard to native languages. Much of the existing material lies unpublished in the archives of linguists, universities and museums around the world.

Linguistic studies: For general reviews of Canadian native languages, see M.K. Foster, "Canada's first languages", Language and Society (1982) vol. 7: 7-16, J.K. Chambers, The Languages of Canada (Montreal: Marcel Didier, 1979) pages 15-129, and a more technical study by Lyle Campbell and M. Mithun, eds. The Languages of Native America (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979). The best current short reviews on individual languages are in the Handbook of North American Indians (Washington: Smithsonian Institution; vol. 6 on Subarctic and vol. 15 on Northeast available to date). Lists of further readings are found in: G.P. Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (4th ed., New Haven, HRAF Press, 1975); Jack W. Marken, The American Indian: Language and Literature (Arlington Hts., Ill.: AHM Publishing, 1978); Barry Edwards, A Bibliographical Check-List of Canadian Indian Linguistics in the Languages Centre of the Metropolitan Toronto Library (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, Languages Centre, 1975) and A Supplement to the Bibliographical Check-List... (same, 1976); G. Edward Evans et al. Bibliography of Language Arts Materials for Native North Americans: Bilingual, English as a Second Language and Native Language Materials 1965-1974 (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Centre, UCLA, 1977); and G. Edward Evans et al., North American Indian Language Materials 1890-1965: An Annotated Bibliography of Monographic Works (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Centre, UCLA, 1980).

Lists on specific language groups include: (Algonquian) David Pentland and C. Wolfart, Bibliography of Algonquian Linguistics (2d edition, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1982); (Athapaskan) June Helm, ed. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: Subarctic (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981); and Richard T. Parr, A Bibliography of the Athapaskan Languages (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnological Division Paper No. 14) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974. See also the Pilling bibliographies, listed below.

Current linguistic research is described in the academic newsletters of scholarly groups, such as Algonquian and Iroquois Linguistics (formerly Algonquian Linguistics Newsletter), the Papers of the Algonquian Conferences (various editors, 1972 to present); Northwest Languages Newsletter (Vancouver); and the Newsletter of the Conference of American Indian Languages Clearinghouse (Arlington, Va.: Centre for Applied Linguistics).

Texts in native languages include books, periodicals, newspapers, transcripts of traditional stories, legends, songs, religious and devotional texts, and vocabularies. A useful discussion of early texts is in Victor E. Hanzeli's "Early descriptions by French missionaries of Algonquian and Iroquoian languages..." (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1961). List of texts include (a) James C. Pilling's five bibliographies: Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 13, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), Bibliography of the Athapaskan Languages (Bulletin 14, 1892), Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages (Including the Chinook Jargon) (Bulletin 15, 1893); Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages (Bulletin 1, 1887), and Bibliography of the Siouan Languages (Bulletin 5, 1887). These items are discussed in J.M. Banks' "James Constantine Pilling and the literature of the native peoples" in: Bibliographical Society of Canada Colloquium III... 1978 (Toronto: The Society, 1979), pp. 58-70. (b) Joyce M. Banks, Books in Native Languages in the Collection of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of the National Library of Canada (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1980). (c) Five guides and lists by Gaston Carrière, o.m.i., of Oblate archival holdings of Indian texts, published in Anthropologica (1970) n.s. vol. 12 pp. 151-179 and (1973) n.s. vol. 15 pp. 129-151, Culture (1951) vol. 12:213-226 and (1957) vol. 18(1):105-112; and in Etudes Oblates (1972) vol. 31:165-204.





Contact Joyce Banks (Rare Books and Conservation Librarian, National Library of Canada), Dr. David Pentland (Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba) and Barry Edwards (Languages Centre, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario M4W 2G8) for information about planned revisions of these lists. Further bibliographies of texts in native languages are now being promoted and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Government and mission policy on native languages is reviewed in L. Tschanz, "Native languages and government policy in Canada: an historical examination", Man in the Northeast (1982) vol. 23: 1-16; J.A. Price, "The viability of Indian languages in Canada", Canadian Journal of Native Studies (1981) vol. 1(2) pages 339-346; W. Cowan, "Native languages of North America: the European response", American Indian Culture and Research Journal (1974) vol. 1(2): 3-10; and various studies in the Papers of the Algonquian Conferences (first through eleventh), various editors, c. 1972 to present.

Literature, publishing and journalism, by and for Canadian native people, has not yet been studied. Some thoughtful US-oriented works are: Abraham Chapman, ed., Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations (New York: New American Library, 1975); various articles in the American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 1974 to present; and R.W. Lewis, "English and American Indian studies", The Indian Historian (1973) vol. 6(4):32-37, 54 (on methods for the teaching of Amerindian literature). For further sources see below.

Literature: See National Library of Canada, Indian-Inuit Authors: An Annotated Bibliography (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974); Jack W. Marken, The American Indian: Language and Literature ( a bibliography, Arlington Hts., Ill: AHM Publishing, 1978); Daniel Littlefield and J.W. Parins, A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772-1924 (Metuchen, N.J.,: Scarecrow Press, 1981); B.C.

Peyer, "A bibliography of native American prose prior to the 20th century" Wassaja/The Indian Historian (1980) vol. 13(3): 23-25; and J.B. Mays, "The flying serpent: contemporary imaginations of the American Indian", Canadian Review of American Studies (1973) vol. 4(1):32-46.

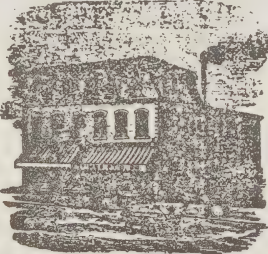
Aside from collections of traditional legends and tales (indexed in this handbook under "Religion", page 176) there are only a few anthologies of Canadian Indian speeches and creative literature. See Kent Gooderham, ed., I Am An Indian (Toronto: Dent, 1969); Waubageshig, ed., The Only Good Indian (Toronto: New Press, 1970); David Day and M. Bowering, eds., Many Voices: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Indian Poetry (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1977); and Ken George Batisse, Native Sons (Cobalt, Ont.: Highway Book Store, 1977). Indian oratory is reprinted in André Vachon, Eloquence indienne (Montréal: Fidès, 1968) and T.C. McLuhan, ed. Touch The Earth (New York: Promontory Press, 1971). An excellent American collection is Geary Hobson's The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979).

Periodicals and journalism: For lists and descriptions of Canadian native newspapers and magazines, past and present, see: R.W. Ogle and A. Malycky, "Periodical publications of Canada's Indians and Métis: a preliminary checklist" Canadian Ethnic Studies (1970) vol. 2(1): 109-115, and "First Supplement..." (1973) vol. 5(1-2): 183-192; Duncan McLaren, Ontario Ethno-cultural Newspapers 1835-1972. An Annotated Checklist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) pp. 89-95; National Library of Canada, Newspaper Section, Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held By Canadian Libraries (Ottawa: National Library of Canada 1977); and John A. Price, Native Studies (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978) pp. 180-187, "Native periodicals". Partial lists of current native periodicals are also available in The Native Directory (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1981) or from

the Public Communications and Parliamentary Relations Branch of the Indian-Inuit Affairs Program, DIAND, Ottawa. A further catalogue, covering all of North America, is being prepared by Maureen Hady of the Newspapers and Periodicals Section, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, USA. Finally, US Indian journalism is described in James E. Murphy, Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.

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From The Indian (September 8, 1886), a newspaper published by the Rev. F.E. Jones (Kahkewahquonaby) at Hagersville, Ont., 1885-86.

General: For current government policy on native arts, consult files in (a) the Central Registry of DIAND (consult the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Ottawa for references) and (b) the Secretary of State, Native Citizens' Directorate. For past policy, see material in the PAC, RG-10. (INDEX: subject indexes to the Red and Black Series and the New Accessions: see especially files on "handicrafts" (e.g. RG-10 volumes 7551-7554, 7908-7919, 8293, and 8814-8817), "preservation of totem poles" (RG-10 vol. 6817), and general files (RG-10 volumes 8618-8620).) Some material on export and trade in native antiquities dated before 1950, may be found in the PAC's RG-7,



RG-22, RG-25, RG-45 and RG-85, and in administrative files held by the various ethnological museums, such as the National Museum of Man, Ethnology Division, Ottawa. (INDEX: consult local museum curators and archivists for further information.) For general published material, see the Bradley and Buller bibliographies, above, and John A. Price's "The Arts" in Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978).

#### (k) INDIAN BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The life stories of many individual Canadian Indian people have been published, some written or dictated by the subjects themselves, some by others. Note that those listed here are not all of equal depth or quality.

#### SOURCES

Unpublished: the recollections and life histories of many individuals are still buried in the unpublished records of governments, churches, historians, anthropologists, and other researchers. Look for them in the major native resource centres, in university collections, and in museum archives in your area or in Ottawa. Since there is no general guide to these records, visit the collections and ask the librarian or archivist for help.

The records of the Department of Indian Affairs include some unorganized biographical files: see the Public Archives of Canada (RG-10), especially (a) the Red and Black Series subject indexes, under the names of individuals; (b) biographical references in Matheson's "Who Was Who and When" in RG-10 volume 737; and (c) miscellaneous biographical memoranda on famous Indian people (1700s to 1963) in RG-10 volumes 10017-10031, 8581-8582 and 8616-8620. The Departmental "membership and status" records after Confederation (described in an earlier section of this handbook) also contain some



biographical information. For information on prominent Indian persons today, consult (a) the Assembly of First Nations library in Ottawa and (b) the "biographical" newsclipping files of the Department of Indian Affairs (c. 1960-1977) filed by name of person, and held in the Library section of the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Published Biographies: The best single collection of historic Canadian Indian biographies is in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966- ; volumes I to IV and IX to X are available to date). Biographies of native people who died between 1000 and 1800 are indexed in: Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Index. Volumes I to IV. 1000 to 1800 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) pages 50-51. There is as yet no index for the other volumes: among many others, these include lives of Mekaisto or Red Crow, Kahgegagahbowh or George Copway, J.B. Askin, J.B. Assikinack, Francis Assickinack, Maskepetoon, Peguis (volume IX) and Calf Shirt, Sotai-na and Sweetgrass (volume X). For a good collection of lives of US Indian people, see Frederick J. Dockstader's Great North American Indians: Profiles in Life and Leadership (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977).

The following is an extended list (by author) of biographies and autobiographies of Canadian Indian people, and of Métis and other individuals whose lives were closely bound up with Indians: Edward Ahenakew, Voices of the Plains Cree, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973 [Chief Thunderchild and Rev. Edward Ahenakew]; George Barker [Chief, Hollow Water Band, Manitoba], Forty Years a Chief, Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1979; Marius Barbeau, Fameux peaux-rouges d'amérique du nord-est au nord-ouest, Montreal: Beauchemin, 1966 [Donnacona, Deganawida, Hiawatha, Pontiac, Handsome Lake, Joseph Brant, Tchakta, Maquinna]; Donald C. Barnett, Poundmaker, Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1976; Tom Boulanger, An Indian Recalls: My Life as a Trapper in Northern Manitoba, Winnipeg: Peguis, 1971; Henri Bechard, L'héroïque indienne Kateri Tekakwitha Montréal: Fidès, 1980 [see also books listed in "La bibliographie de Kateri

Tekakwitha", Bulletin de Recherches Historiques (1940) vol. 46(5): 146-8]; Johanna Brand, The Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1978; Maria Campbell, Halfbreed: A Proud and Bitter Canadian Legacy, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973; Harvey Chalmers and E.B. Monture, Joseph Brant: Mohawk, Toronto: Ryerson, 1955; J. Clifton, "Personal and ethnic identity on the Great Lakes frontier: the case of Billy Caldwell, Anglo-Canadian", Ethnohistory (1978) volume 25(1), pages 69-94; Hugh A. Dempsey, Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet, Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972; Carlotta Hacker, Crowfoot, Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977; Hugh A. Dempsey, Red Crow: Warrior Chief, Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980; Hugh A. Dempsey, Charcoal's World, Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978; Lovat Dickson, Wilderness Man: The Strange Story of Grey Owl, Toronto: Macmillan, 1973; Joseph F. Dion [a Cree teacher and organizer, 1888-1960], My Tribe the Crees, Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1979; Marty Dunn, Red on White: The Biography of Duke Redbird, Toronto: New Press, 1971; Peter Erasmus [A Red River Métis who lived with the Cree of central Alberta, 1860-1890], Buffalo Days and Nights (ed. Irene Spry), Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1976; Clellan S. Ford, editor, Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; W.B. Fraser, "Big Bear: Indian patriot", Alberta Historical Review (1966) 14(2) pages 1-13; Kent Gooderham, I Am An Indian, Toronto: Dent, 1969 [extracts from various biographies]; Alma Greene (Gah-wonh-nos-doh), Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian, Don Mills, Ont.: Hamlyn, 1971; Max Gros-Louis, First Among the Hurons, Montreal: Harvest House, 1973; J.C. Hamilton, "Famous Algonquins..." Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute (1898-99) vol. 6 pages 285-307 [Shinguaconse, Peguis, John Prince, Crowfoot, Poundmaker, Red Crow, the Blackbird family, Charles Tebisco Keejik, Gitchi Naigou, Mistawasis, Sweetgrass, and Waubojee]; Alvin Josephy, The Patriot Chiefs, New York: Viking, 1961 [Hiawatha, Tecumseh and others]; Chief Charles Jones and S. Bosustow, Queesto, Pacheenah Chief By Birthright, Nanaimo: Theytus Books, 1981; Peter Jones, Life and Journals of Ka-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Reverend Peter Jones)..., Toronto:

Anson Green, 1860; Betty Keller, Pauline: A Biography of Pauline Johnson, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982; Dan Kennedy (Ochankugah), Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief (edited by J.R. Stevens) Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972; Bruce Kidd, Tom Longboat (Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1980); Carl F. Klinck, Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961; Barney Lacendre, The Bushman And the Spirits, Beaverlodge, Alta.: Horizon House, 1979; Grant MacEwan, Sitting Bull: The Years in Canada, Edmonton: Hurtig, 1973; J.W.G. MacEwan, Portraits from the Plains, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1971 [various Plains leaders, 19th and 20th centuries]; J.W. Grant MacEwan, Tatanga Mani: Walking Buffalo of the Stonies, Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969; Valerie L. Mathes, "Wickaninish, A Vancouver Island Chieftain: his life as told by foreign visitors" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1975); J.S. Matthews, Conversations with Khahtsahlano, 1932-1954, Vancouver: Vancouver City Archives, 1955; B.A. McKelvie, Maquinna the Magnificent, Vancouver: Vancouver Daily Province, 1946; Ethel Brant Monture, Canadian Portraits: Brant, Crowfoot, Oronhyatekha, Famous Indians, Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1960; Wilfred Pelletier, No Foreign Land: the Biography of A North American Indian, New York: Pantheon, 1973; Henry Penner, Chiefly Indian: The Warm and Witty Story of a British Columbia Half Breed Logger, West Vancouver: Graydonald Graphics, 1972; John A. Price, "The age of heroes" pages 69-79 of his Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978 [a list of notable native people]; Helen C. Robinson, Joseph Brant: A Man for His People, Don Mills: Longman Canada, 1971; Helen C. Robinson, Mistress Molly, The Brown Lady: A Portrait of Molly Brant, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1980; James Sewid, Quests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian (ed. J.P. Spradley), Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972; Norma Sluman, Poundmaker, Toronto: Ryerson, 1967; Donald B. Smith, Long Lance: The True Story of an Impostor, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1982; Speaking Together: Canada's Native Women, Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1977 [a collection of short life stories]; Jean E. Speare, The Days of Augusta, Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1973 (Mary Augusta

Tappage of Soda Creek, B.C.); John Steckley, Untold Tales. Three 17th Century Huron. Joseph Chihoatenhwa, Eustace Ahatsistani, Estienne Annaotaha, Ajax, Ont.: R. Kerton, 1981; John Tetso, Trapping Is My Life, Toronto: Peter Martin, 1970 [a Slavey trapper from Fort Resolution, NWT]: University of Saskatchewan College of Education, Indian, Métis and Eskimo Leaders in Contemporary Canada, Saskatoon, 1971; R.M. Vanderburgh, I Am Nokomis Too: the Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston, Don Mills, Ont: General Publishing, 1977; Jane Willis, Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood, Toronto: New Press, 1973; and Keith Winter, Shananditti, The Last of the Beothucks, North Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1975. Biographies of Indian artists are listed under "Art" in a previous section.

Published Lists and Background Reading: See the National Library of Canada, Indian-Inuit Authors: An Annotated Bibliography, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974; H. David Brumble, An Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies, Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981 (covers Canadian items, with especially useful critical remarks); B.C. Peyer, "Autobiographical works written by native Americans", Amerikastudien/American Studies (1981) vol. 26(3-4) pages 386-402; A. Krupt, "The Indian autobiography: origins, type and function", American Literature (1981) vol. 53(1):22-24; and biographies of current personalities listed in Don Whiteside's Indians, Indians, Indians (3 volumes; unpublished bibliography, Ottawa, 1979) pp. 604-622.

(1) OTHER NATIVE PEOPLES (THE INUIT, THE MÉTIS AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OUTSIDE CANADA)

To some extent, the advice given in this handbook on research methods and sources also applies to Inuit and Métis history projects. But work concerning these peoples is often focused differently, and many of the most important archival and secondary sources are not the same. Likewise, special sources are needed for research concerning aboriginal peoples outside Canada. We have space here only to list some of the best research guides and reading lists for each group.

## The Inuit

For a good basic history and reading list on the Inuit of Canada, see Keith J. Crowe's A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal/London: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1974). The major bibliographies on the Inuit, and on the Canadian North in general, are:

- Arctic Institute of North America. Arctic Bibliography (16 volumes) Washington/Montreal: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953 - .
- Ved P. Arora. Eskimos: A Bibliography. Regina: Bibliographic Services Division, Saskatchewan Provincial Library, 1972.
- Alan Cooke and F. Caron, eds. Bibliographie de la Péninsule du Québec-Labrador (2 volumes) Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1968.
- Albert A. Dekin. Arctic Archaeology: A Bibliography and History. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978. (With a detailed review of the literature).
- Barry Edwards and Mary Love. A Bibliography of Inuit (Eskimo) Linguistics in Collections of the Metropolitan Toronto Library. Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board Languages Centre, 1982.
- Robin Gedalof. An Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Inuit Literature. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1979.
- A.C. Heinrich. "University research on Canada's Eskimos: A preliminary checklist of theses". Canadian Ethnic Studies (1970) vol. 2(1):31-33.
- Arthur E. Hippler and J.R. Wood. The Alaska Eskimos: A Selected Annotated Bibliography. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977.
- Bennett McCardle. Bibliography of the History of Canadian Indian and Inuit Health. Edmonton: T.A.R.R., Indian Association of Alberta, 1981.
- George P. Murdock, ed. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. (4th edition) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1975, volume 1 pages 1-34 and volume 2 pages 1-117.
- J.P.V. Millar and A.M. Ervin. A Status Report and Bibliography of Cultural Studies in the Canadian Arctic to 1976 (The Musk-Ox, Special Publication). Saskatoon: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1981).
- Yukon Bibliography. Ottawa: Northern Co-Ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1964. (Original edition comp. by J.K. Lotz.) See also the five updates, to 1970, 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1979 respectively, published by the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, Edmonton, University of Alberta.



Current news articles on Inuit affairs, and academic writing since 1979, are indexed in the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies' Northern Studies -- KWIC Index (Edmonton: Boreal Institute, University of Alberta); this has been issued in annual parts since 1979. DIAND's library in Ottawa offers a list of computerized information sources on northern Canada ("Databases available in DIAND library which provide information on the North", 12 March 1982.) Ongoing research in the North is also catalogued by DIAND's Northern Research Information and Documentation Service (NRIDS) in Ottawa: see its Current and Recent Research Studies Relating to Northern Social Concerns, volumes I-III (Ottawa: DIAND, 1976-78).

Material on Inuit claims is also listed in:

- Canada, Indian Claims Commission, Research Resource Centre, Indian Claims in Canada. Ottawa, Information Canada, 1975, pages 155-182 and 197-201.
- Canada, Canadian Indian Rights Commission. Indian Claims in Canada: Supplementary Bibliography. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1979, pages 39-65 and 70-76.
- Geoffrey S. Lester. "The Territorial Rights of the Inuit of the Canadian Northwest Territories: A Legal Argument". Unpublished Doctor of Jurisprudence thesis, York University, 1981.

More material can be found on the reference collections of the various Inuit organizations, especially the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in Ottawa.

Journals concentrating on Northern history, society, and science include: The Musk-Ox (journal of the Institute for Northern Studies, Saskatoon), Arctic, Arctic Anthropology, Arctic Circular, Polar Record, Etudes Inuit Studies, The Beaver, Paleo-Quebec, the Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, Eskimo, Information North, Inuvialuit, Inuit Today, Northern Perspectives, and many others.

The largest group of archival collections on the Canadian North is held by the Public Archives of Canada. Three useful guides to these papers are: Terry Cook's Sources For the Study of the Canadian North (Public Archives of Canada, Federal Archives Division, Special Publications Series,

Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1980); and two unedited collections of summaries of archival records, both by James F. Kidd: Polar Archives: Thematic Guide (2 volumes; Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Finding Aid No. 1071, 1979- ) and Post-Confederation Sources Relating to Indians and Inuit: Thematic Guide (Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Finding Aid No. 1204, 1981). A further guide to sources on native people in the Public Archives will be issued by the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, in 1983.

Archival material on the Inuit dating as far back as the 1920s is available in the current files of the government of Canada in Ottawa (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Affairs Branch) and in the records of the Northwest Territories and Yukon governments. Some of these are available to researchers, subject to departmental access and screening rules. They are, for the most part, continuous with the older departmental files held by the Public Archives (especially record groups 22, 85 and 91, as described in Cook's guide).

Relevant archival records on the Inuit may also be found in foreign repositories, such as the records of the governments of Greenland and Alaska. No guide to these sources could be found for this handbook. Researchers should contact experienced workers in the field, such as the claims research staff of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, or the Northern Social Research unit of DIAND's Northern Affairs Program.

### The Métis

The best single list of sources on the Métis is John W. Friesen and Terry Lusty, The Métis of Canada: An Annotated Bibliography (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980). Other more specialized bibliographies are:

- Ved P. Arora. Louis Riel: A Bibliography. Regina: Provincial Library Bibliographical Services, 1972.
- Alan F.J. Artibise. Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.
- Canada, Indian Claims Commission. Indian Claims in Canada. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975, pages 144-145; also Indian Claims in Canada: Supplementary Bibliography, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1979, pp. 34-35.
- T. Flanagan and C.M. Rocan. "A guide to the Louis Riel Papers". Archivaria (1980-81) vol. 11:135-169.
- Dennis Madill. Select Annotated Bibliography on Métis Policy and Claims. Ottawa: DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, forthcoming 1983.

Researchers should also check the general lists on pages 197 - 210 of this handbook, especially the Reader's Guide to Canadian History, Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography, and Abler's Canadian Indian Bibliography.

The only detailed guides to archival sources deal mainly with material in the Public Archives of Canada. These are: (a) Public Archives of Canada, Federal Archives Division, Department of the Interior (Record Group 15), unpublished General Inventory, Ottawa: PAC, no date; (b) Dennis Madill, "An Archival Finding Aid for Primary Source Material on the Métis" [not including RG-10 and RG-15], unpublished paper, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa, October 1979; and (c) Bennett McCardle, "Sources for Métis History in the Public Archives of Canada (Records of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs)", unpublished paper, Indian Association of Alberta, October 1981.

Researchers who want to get a feel for these archival records can consult existing histories that make extensive use of documents, such as the following:

- J.S. Brown. "Linguistic solitudes and changing social categories" in: Carol M. Judd and A.J. Ray, eds. Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980, pp. 147-159.
- Joanne (Overvold) Burger. Our Métis Heritage ... A Portrayal, Yellowknife: Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, 1976. (A photographic history.)

- J.A. Clifton. "Personal and ethnic identity on the Great Lakes frontier: the case of Billy Caldwell, Anglo-Canadian", Ethnohistory (1978) vol. 25(1): 69-94.
- Harry W. Daniels, ed. The Forgotten People: Métis and Non-Status Indian Land Claims, Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979.
- Murray Dobbin. The One-And-A-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris..., Vancouver: New Star Books, 1981.
- Marcel Giraud. Le métis canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest, Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945.
- Antoine Lussier and D.B. Sealey, eds. The Other Natives: The/Les Métis (2 volumes), Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation/Éditions Bois-Brûles, 1978.
- A.S. Lussier, ed. Riel and the Métis. Riel Mini-Conference Papers. Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1979.
- Métis Association of Alberta et al. Métis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History, Edmonton: The Association, 1981.
- "Métis et indiens sans statut", Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1982) volume 12 no. 2 (numéro spécial).
- Desmond Morton. The Last War Drum: The North-West Campaign of 1885. Toronto: Hakkert, 1972.
- William A. Oppen, The Riel Rebellions: A Cartographic History, Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1979.
- G.F.G. Stanley. The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- G.F.G. Stanley, et al., eds. Louis Riel, Collected Papers: Critical Edition, in preparation; forthcoming 1983?

More recent items, including periodicals and unpublished papers, can be found in the research collections of the Native Council of Canada, Ottawa, and in the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa.

#### Aboriginal Peoples Outside Canada

There is a large body of information available on native or aboriginal peoples around the world. Lists of basic materials are found in the bibliographies attached to the following general works:

- M. Bicchieri. Hunters and Gatherers Today. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
- Robert S. Allen. Native Studies in Canada. A Research Guide. Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, 1982, pp. 167-184, "Comparative Native Studies".

- Canadian Indian Claims Commission. Indian Claims in Canada: An Essay and Bibliography, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975, and Canada, Canadian Indian Rights Commission, Indian Claims in Canada: Supplementary Bibliography, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1979.

See sections entitled "General reference", "U.S.A.", "Alaska", "Australia", "New Zealand", and "Eurasia".

- Nelson H.H. Graburn and B.S. Strong. Circumpolar Peoples: An Anthropological Perspective. Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing, 1973.

- J.G. Jorgensen and R.B. Lee, eds. "The new native resistance: indigenous peoples' struggles and the responsibilities of scholars". MSS Modular Publications (MSS Press, New York, N.Y., 1974) Module 6, pp. 1-40.

Includes a list of addresses of aboriginal organizations and non-native support groups (pp. 32-40).

- Richard B. Lee and I. DeVore, eds. Man the Hunter. Chicago: Aldine Press, 1968.

- Douglas E. Sanders. The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (IWGIA Document 29). Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1977.

Current news on aboriginal affairs, including activities of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, is found in various Canadian native periodicals, notably The National Indian, The Nations' Ensign and The Saskatchewan Indian. Material on recent native representations to international bodies (such as the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and the Russell Tribunal) is found in the reference collections of the Assembly of First Nations (Ottawa) and the Native Law Centre (Saskatoon).



## OTHER AIDS TO RESEARCH

Aside from sources listed elsewhere in this handbook, there are certain general reference books that are of special use in researching Canadian Indian history. Many of these are listed in Robert J. Surtees' valuable guide, Canadian Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982). Others are given below, under the following headings: (1) Canadian history generally, (2) Indian history generally, (3) regional Indian history, (4) historiography, ethnological approaches, and popular attitudes, (5) audio-visual material, (6) newspapers, and (7) research and style manuals.

### 1. CANADIAN HISTORY GENERALLY

America: History and Life. Santa Barbara, Calif., 1964- .

A yearly bibliography, with summaries of published books and articles, on North American history. Covers most of the major Canadian academic journals. See entries under "Canada" and "Indians". Can also be consulted by computer in some libraries. Entries on Indians dated between 1954 and 1972 have been published as: Dwight L. Smith, ed., Indians of the United States and Canada: A Bibliography (Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1974).

Beers, Henry P. The French and British in the Old Northwest: A Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964.

A detailed discussion of archival research sources, mainly for the period before 1812. Adequate basic description of Canadian materials.

Bishop, Olga B. Canadian Official Publications. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981.

A brief guide to the use of post-Confederation Canadian government publications (Hansard, Sessional Papers, Committee minutes, etc.). Guides to pre-Confederation colonial records are also available for some regions; e.g. O.B. Bishop's Publications of the Government of the Province of Canada 1841-1866 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1963), and others listed in M. Bhatia, Canadian Provincial Government Publications: Bibliography of Bibliographies (revised ed., Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Libraries, 1971).

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Debates (Also known as "Hansard"). 1867- .

These include much important information on Indian Affairs after Confederation. Subject-indexed adequately in some years and superficially in others. Consult the subject indexes to the House of Commons Journals (the formal record of House proceedings) for further guidance.

Canadian Historical Review. Quarterly, Toronto, 1920- .

Published in each issue is a detailed list of academic publications in Canadian history, including native history. A similar (and sometimes more comprehensive) list is published in the Quebec periodical Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française. See also McIlwraith, below, p. 203.

Canadian Periodical Index. Monthly and yearly, 1928- .

Subject index to articles on native people, covering popular magazines and some scholarly journals.

Colombo, John Robert. Colombo's Canadian References. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1974.

A desk-encyclopedia of facts on Canadian history and life.

Cook, Terry and Glenn T. Wright. Historical Records of the Government of Canada. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, Federal Archives Division, 1980.

Catalogue and brief description of each of the 128 groups of historic records of the Canadian government.

Cooke, Alan and C. Holland. The Exploration of Northern Canada 500 to 1920. A Chronology. Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978.

A detailed chronology of events, year by year, including much information on Indian-white encounters.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966- . Volumes available to date: I-IV (1000-1800), IX-X (1861-1880), and an Index to volumes I-IV.

Includes biographies of prominent people. Each person is included in the volume for the date of his or her death. For the years not covered, substitute Story's Oxford Companion, below, or W.S. Wallace's Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (4th edition, Toronto: Macmillan, 1978).

Kerr, Donald G.G. Historical Atlas of Canada (3d edition). Don Mills, Ont.: Nelson, 1975.

Maps outlining Canadian territorial history, explorations, the fur trade, and Indian treaties. See also the National Atlas.

National Atlas of Canada (4th edition). Macmillan/Information Canada, 1974.

See especially maps under "Exploration" (pp. 71-80) and "Posts of the Canadian fur trade" (pp. 79-80). The 5th edition of the Atlas is being issued as separate unbound maps (Ottawa: Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Surveys and Mapping Branch, Geographical Services Division, 1978- ). Only one map relevant to native people ("Indian and Inuit Communities...", listed below) has yet appeared in this series.

Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. General Inventory -- Manuscripts (Vols. 1-5 and 7-8). Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971-1977.

Catalogues and guides to the major non-governmental records in the PAC. Divided up as follows: Volume 1, MG-1 to 10 (records from French archives; documents on New France and Quebec up to the 20th century; Canadian provincial and local records; records of foreign governments). Volume 2, MG-11 to MG-16 (various records from British government archives). Volume 3, MG-17 to MG-21 (Church archives; records predating 1760; various fur-trade records; Hudson's Bay Company records). Volume 4, MG-22 to MG-25 (autographs; genealogy records; records dated from 1760 to 1867). Volume 5, MG-26, 27 and 28 (papers

of the prime ministers and other politicians from Confederation to 1950; records of post-Confederation corporate bodies). Volume 7, MG-29 (various records, 1867-1900). Volume 8, MG-30 (various records, 1900-1950). For other PAC guides see Cook, above, and McCardle, below.

A Reader's Guide to Canadian History. (2 volumes). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982. (Volume 1: Beginnings to Confederation, ed. by D.A. Muise. Volume 2: Confederation to the Present, ed. by J.L. Granatstein and P. Stevens).

The best short bibliography of published works on Canadian history, with critical discussions.

Sills, D.L., ed. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (17 vols.) N.Y.: Macmillan/Free Press, 1968.

Explains and discusses approaches and technical terms used by anthropologists and sociologists.

Story, Norah, ed. The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature, and William Töy, ed. Supplement to the Oxford Companion... Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967 and 1973.

A useful desk encyclopedia for general reference; more detailed than Colombo (above).

Thibault, Claude. Bibliographia Canadiana. Don Mills, Ont.: Longman Canada, 1973.

The most complete single bibliography on Canadian history. No annotations. Update it by using current lists in the Canadian Historical Review, Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, or America: History and Life, described above.

Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories (2nd edition). Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975; also three Supplements, published 1977, 1979 and 1982.

Detailed list of unpublished manuscript records in archives across Canada. See subject index under "Indians" or names of particular groups and individuals.

## 2. INDIAN HISTORY

A number of popular general "dictionaries" and "encyclopedias" of Indian history and life are available. With one exception -- see under Sturtevant, below -- these tend to be incomplete, unreliable or focused primarily on the United States. Thus none are specifically recommended here.

Abler, Thomas S. et al. A Canadian Indian Bibliography 1960-1970. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Poorly indexed but comprehensive for its period. Use in conjunction with the current bibliographies listed above.

About Indians: A Listing of Books (4th edition). Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1977.

Short reviews of over 1400 works of fiction and non-fiction for children and adults on Canadian and American Indians, Inuit, and Métis. Includes recommendations on age-ranges and use in teaching. Available free from the Publications Section, DIAND, Ottawa. Two similar guides with more detailed critical content are Mary Jo Lass-Woodfin's Books on American Indians and Eskimos. A Selection Guide for Children and Young Adults (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978) and Anna Lee Stensland's Literature By and About the American Indian: An Annotated Bibliography for Junior and Senior High School Students (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1973).

Bishop, C.A. "Archival sources and the culture history of the Indians of the eastern Subarctic". Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (1975) vol. 12(3): 244-251.

A short review of manuscript sources, with remarks on techniques of interpretation; applicable to research in Canada generally.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indian Conditions: A Survey. Ottawa: DIAND, 1980.

Statistical survey of all aspects of Indian life today. Some of the figures are controversial, but the volume can be used with caution for general reference.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indian-Inuit Affairs Program. Program Reference Centre. A Catalogue of Statistical Data in the Program Reference Centre. Ottawa: DIAND. (Issued annually; last edition, March 1982, forthcoming).

Lists federal statistical information available on various aspects of Indian life, including population, economy, lands, and education. Most of the material is dated 1956 or later.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indian-Inuit Affairs Program. Corporate Policy, Research Branch. Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands. (Revised edition). Ottawa: DIAND, 1980.

The only complete list of federally-recognized Indian bands today, with approximate populations and nominal ethnic affiliation. For lists of lands occupied by these groups, see page 55 of this handbook under "Reserve lands and resources".

Canada. Matters in Dispute Between the Dominion and Ontario. Joint Report to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs by Messrs. McKenna and Rimmer... Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1901.

A summary of twenty Ontario Indian claims involving Treaty land and annuity rights, establishment and surrender of reserves, and Band funds, originating in the period 1820-1900. These cases provide very useful background information on otherwise undocumented subjects. Should be used with the supporting archival and legal documents, which were presented to a federal Board of Arbitration established to settle claims between Canada, Ontario and Quebec. These papers were printed separately as a series of legal submissions, under the general title In the Matter of the Arbitration Between the Dominion of Canada, the Province of Canada, and the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec... (var. pubs., 1894-c. 1897). Portions of these documents are available in the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa; the Public Archives of Canada, RG-10, volumes 2545-47, files 111834-1 to 111834-3; the National Library of Canada, Government Documents Section; the National Library of Canada, Canadian Indian Rights Collection; and the Ontario Archives (Toronto), Aemilius Irving Papers. The activities of the Board are described in R.C. Daniel, A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada... (Ottawa: DIAND, 1980) pages 56-62.



Canada. Geographic Board. Handbook of Indians of Canada. (Originally issued as the Appendix to the 10th Report of the Geographic Board of Canada). Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913; reprinted, Toronto: Coles, 1971.

A "dictionary" of Canadian Indian groups and cultural features. Inaccurate and outdated in some respects, it should not be used as the sole reference in any project. It remains useful, however, for its glossary identifying groups by their Indian or alternative names, and for its detailed references to sources. A similar but much shorter and somewhat more reliable catalogue is on pp. 544-608 of John R. Swanton's The Indian Tribes of North America (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology No. 145) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952. Where possible, use Sturtevant's Handbook of North American Indians along with these books.

Canada. Indian and Inuit Communities and Languages. Map, extracted from the National Atlas of Canada (5th edition), Ottawa: Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Surveys and Mapping Branch, 1981.

Despite a few errors in the identification of ethnic groups, this is the best available map for the location of Canadian Indian communities. Copies can be obtained from the Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, Ottawa.

Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Edmonton, 1980- . (Formerly Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 1969-1979).

Articles on Canadian Indian society and history, including archaeology.

Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Brandon, Man., 1980- .

Articles on all aspects of Canadian Indian life.

Cumming, Peter A. and N.H. Mickenberg, eds. Native Rights in Canada. (2nd edition). Toronto: General Publishing Co., 1972.

Outdated in many respects, but still the best single source on Canadian native law.

Daniel, Richard C. A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada 1867-1979. Ottawa: Tyler, Wright and Daniel Ltd./DIAND, Research Branch, 1980.

Dockstader, Frederick J. and A.W. Dockstader. The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations (2 volumes; 2d edition). N.Y.: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973-74.

A list of unpublished academic theses, 1890-1970. See also Malycky and Nickerson, below.

Fisher, Robin. "Historical writing on native people in Canada". The History and Social Science Teacher (1982) vol. 17(2):65-72.

A general review, mainly of recent work.

"Glossary of Indian tribal names" [title varies]. Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-79, vol. I pp. 12-16 (1000 to 1700); vol. II pp. xxvi - xli (1701 to 1740); vol. III pp. xxxi - xlii (1741 to 1770); and vol. IV pp. 1 - lvii (1771 to 1800).

Good short descriptions and short histories of contemporary Indian peoples for each period separately. Organized alphabetically by name of group.

Haas, M.L. "A basic guide to reference sources for the study of the North American Indian". Reference Services Review (1979) vol. 7(3): 15-35.



An excellent detailed review and commentary on the major academic reference aids. Focuses on USA, but should not be ignored by Canadian researchers.

Harvard University. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Library. Catalogue of the Library (and various Supplements) 71 volumes. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1963-1972.

Useful for locating rare, unpublished and early items; similar to the Huntington, Newbury, and Glenbow catalogues, below.

Hawthorn, H.B., ed. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada. A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies. (2 vols.) Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-67.

The so-called Hawthorn-Tremblay Report. A detailed review of Indian conditions, with recommendations for government action. For background, see Ponting 1980 and Weaver 1981 (below).

Herman, K. et al. 1981-1982 Guide to Departments of Sociology, Anthropology and Archaeology in Universities and Museums in Canada. (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Directorate Paper No. 2). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1982.

Lists scholars and institutions involved in research relating to native peoples.

Hertzberg, Hazel W. The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971.

A useful introduction to modern Indian political and intellectual history.

Hodge, William. A Bibliography of Contemporary North American Indians. N.Y.: Interland Publishing, 1976.

Focuses on United States Indians after 1945, but refers to basic sources on Canada and on earlier periods. The only bibliography that evaluates sources and suggests research plans within each subject area.

Huntington Free Library and Reading Room, N.Y. Dictionary Catalogue of the American Indian Collection (4 vols.) Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977.

List of early and scarce published items, overlapping the Harvard, Newbury and Glenbow catalogues.

Index to Literature on the American Indian (4 volumes to date). San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1971-75.

Lists much non-academic material not catalogued elsewhere, with some Canadian items. Volumes are available for 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973; a fifth volume covering 1973-80 is said to be forthcoming.

Kehoe, Alice B. North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

A good general ethnology, including material on Canada.

Leacock, Eleanor B. and N.O. Lurie. The North American Indians in Historical Perspective. N.Y.: Random House, 1971.

A good collection of overviews. Includes Canadian material on the Maritimes, Iroquois, Subarctic and Plains peoples.

Malycky, A. "University research on Canada's Indians and Métis: a preliminary checklist" and "University research ... first supplement", Canadian Ethnic Studies (1970) vol. 2(1):95-107 and (1973) vol. 5(1-2): 153-182.

Lists unpublished academic theses not covered in Dockstader or Nickerson.

McCardle, Bennett. Archival Records Relating to Native People in the Public Archives of Canada, The National Library of Canada and The National Museum of Man: A Researcher's Guide. Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; forthcoming 1983.

McIlwraith, T.F. "Recent publications relating to Canada: ... Ethnology, Anthropology and Archaeology" (title varies). Canadian Historical Review, annually, various pagings, from vol. 6 no. 4 (1925) to vol. 35 no. 1 (1954). Continued as "Bibliography of Canadian Anthropology" (title varies slightly) in: Canada, Annual Report of the National Museum of Man for 1954 (National Museum Bulletin 142) and for 1955 (Bulletin 147); thereafter in National Museum of Man, Contributions to Anthropology for 1956-1957 (Bulletin 162), for 1958 (Bulletin 167), for 1959 (Bulletin 173), for 1960 (Bulletin 190), for 1961 (Bulletin 194) and for 1962 (Bulletin 204).

Bibliographies of current ethnological writings, 1925-62. Valuable for their detailed critical annotations.

Murdock, George Peter. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (5 volumes; 4th edition). New Haven: HRAF Press, 1975.

The best single list of ethnological writing on Canadian Indian peoples. Covers some of the related historical primary and secondary material.

Newberry Library, Chicago. Edward E. Ayer Collection. Dictionary Catalogue of the Edward E. Ayer Collection of Americana and American Indians in the Newberry Library (16 volumes). Boston: G.K. Hall, 1961-1970.

Nickerson, Gifford S. Native North Americans in Doctoral Disserations: A Classified and Indexed Research Bibliography (Council of Planning Librarians, Bibliography no. 1232). Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians, 1977.

Covers items for 1971-1975 not in Dockstader or Malycky.

Ponting, J. Rick and R. Gibbins. Out Of Irrelevance: A Socio-Political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Sealock, R.B. Bibliography of Place-Name Literature -- United States and Canada (2nd edition). Chicago: American Library Association, 1967.

Includes material on Indian geographical terms. For a short Canadian-oriented bibliography and dictionary, see William B. Hamilton, The Macmillan Book of Canadian Place Names (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978).

Social Sciences Citation Index. Annual, c. 1974- .

A very extensive general index covering published anthropological (and some historical) works on Amerindians. Complex and cumbersome to use, but comprehensive.

Spencer, Robert F. et al., The Native Americans (2nd ed.). N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1977.

A good general ethnology. See also Kehoe.

Sturtevant, William, gen. ed. Handbook of North American Indians (20 vols.). Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1976- .

The most complete available roundup of material on the native peoples of north America. Now available on Canadian groups are volume 6 (Subarctic, ed. June Helm) and volume 15 (Northeast, ed. Bruce Trigger; includes southern Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes). Future volumes will include: Volume 1, General introduction and summary of issues for North America; 2, Contemporary conditions; 3, Environment, origins and populations; 4, History of Indian-white relations; 5, Arctic; 7, Northwest Coast; 13, Plains; 16, Technology and arts; 17, Languages; 18-19, Biographies; and 20, Index.

United States. Department of the Interior. Library. Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs (8 volumes). Boston: G.K. Hall, 1966.

A subject and biographical index to a wide variety of manuscript and published materials. Includes many Canadian references, mainly pre-Confederation.

Weaver, S.M. Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Whiteside, Don (Sin a paw). Aboriginal People: A Selected Bibliography... Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973.

Covers unpublished and ephemeral items (newsclippings, speeches, position papers, etc.) not listed elsewhere. Continued in Whiteside's Indians, Indians: A Selected Bibliography and Research Guide (unpublished typescript; 3 volumes, Ottawa, February 1979, available in the Library of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa). A portion of the items indexed in these bibliographies are found in the "Whiteside Collection", housed with the National Library of Canada's Canadian Indian Rights Collection in Ottawa.

Whiteside, Don. Contemporary Indian Protests. Reference Aids. Bibliographies (3 vols.) Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1973.

Lists newspaper articles relating to various major Indian political protests and related activities, 1965 to 1973.

Whiteside, Don (Sin a paw) and S.D. Whiteside. "Articles pertaining to Indians in the Globe [Toronto], 1844 to 1867 -- annotated". Unpublished typescript, Ottawa: Aboriginal Institute of Canada, April 1981. Available in the Library of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa.

### 3. REGIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

For other references on specific regions, consult the Reader's Guide to Canadian History and the Abler, Murdock and Surtees bibliographies, listed above.

#### The North

Arctic Bibliography (16 volumes to date). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953- .

Very detailed list, including social, political and technological references.

Arctic Institute of North America. Library. Catalogue of the Library of the Arctic Institute of North America (4 volumes) Boston: G.K. Hall, 1968, and First Supplement, 1971.

Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. Northern Studies -- KWIC Index. Edmonton: Boreal Institute, University of Alberta, 1979-c. 1982.

Lists current published and unpublished material on all Northern issues.

Burch, E.S. "The ethnography of northern North America: a guide to recent research". Arctic Anthropology (1979) vol. 16(1):62-146.

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Northern Social Research Division. Current and Recent Research and Studies Relating to Northern Social Concerns. Ottawa: DIAND, 1978- . (Available to date: volumes I, II, and III parts 1-2; pub. nos. NSRD 78-1, 79-1, 79-2 and 80-1).

Lists and summarizes current research projects on sociological, historical, linguistic, legal and other topics.

De la Barre, K. et al. Northern Population Bibliography - Canada. (2 vols.) Vol. 1, Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 1978; Vol. 2, Montreal: Committee on Northern Population Research, ASTIS Occasional Publication No. 5, 1980.

A general bibliography, with emphasis on society and demography.

Devine, Maria, ed. NWT Data Book 1982-83. Yellowknife: Outcrop Ltd. 1982.

A general handbook of facts on the Northwest Territories.

Helm, June, ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

Detailed essays on the Dené, Cree and other peoples of the Yukon, the N.W.T., and the northern parts of British Columbia, the Prairie provinces, Ontario, Quebec and Labrador. Covers history, society, language and contemporary political developments. For a shorter bibliography and discussion of sources used in the Handbook, see June Helm's The Indians of The Subarctic: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1976).

Krech, S. "Northern Athapaskan ethnology: an annotated bibliography of published materials, 1970-79". Arctic Anthropology (1980) vol. 17(2): 68-105.

Lanari, R. Northwest Territories Community Bibliography (NRD pub. 76-2). Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Research Division, 1976.

Includes published and archival material. Organized by name of community.

Millar, J.F.V. and A.M. Ervin. A Status Report and Bibliography of Cultural Studies in the Canadian Arctic to 1976 (The Musk-Ox, special publication). Saskatoon: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1981.

Includes material on Subarctic and Arctic Indian and Inuit peoples.

Poppe, Roger. Kutchin Bibliography. An Annotated Bibliography of Northern Yukon Kutchin Indians. Edmonton: Canadian Wildlife Service, 1971.

Yukon Bibliography. (5 volumes). First volume ed. by Jim Lotz, pub. Ottawa: Northern Co-Ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1964; four Updates (to 1970, 1973, 1975 and 1979 respectively) pub. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta, 1971-1980.

Zaslow, Morris. The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971.

#### Eastern Canada (general)

Minnesota Historical Society. Chippewa and Dakota Indians: A Subject Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Periodical Articles and Manuscripts in the Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, Minn.: MHS, 1969.



O'Callaghan, Edmund B., ed. Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. (15 vols.). Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853-1887.

Reprints of important archival material relating to eastern Canada generally.

Parent, R. "Inventaire des nations amérindiennes au début du XVIIe siècle". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1978) vol. 7(3-4):5-19.

Covers the Maritimes, Quebec and Southern Ontario.

Quinn, David B. Sources for the Ethnography of Northeastern North America To 1611. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 76). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.

A catalogue and summary of about 60 major manuscripts and other primary sources, with annotations.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, ed. Information Respecting The History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States... (6 vols.). Philadelphia: U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin #152; reprinted 1969.

A miscellany of historical and ethnological information of varying worth, including much material relating to Canadian Indians, especially those of southern Ontario. A subject index has been published separately.

Tanner, Helen H. The Ojibwas: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978.

Includes discussion of the literature.

Thwaites, Reuben G., ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. (73 vols.) Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901, reprinted New York: Pageant Press, 1959.

Reprints of early white missionaries' observations on the native peoples of eastern Canada.

Trigger, Bruce G., ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 15: Northeast. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

The best single source-book on eastern Canadian Indian peoples, with detailed essays on the history, society, language and current politics of the Huron, Iroquois, Delaware, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Algonkin and other peoples.

Weinman, Paul L. A Bibliography of the Iroquoian Literature. N.Y. State Museum and Science Service, Bulletin 411). Albany, N.Y.: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1969.

### The Maritimes

Could, Gary P. and A.J. Semple, eds. Our Land: The Maritimes. The Basis of the Indian Claim in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Fredericton: Saint Annes Point Press, 1980.

Hamilton, W.D. and W.A. Spray. Source Materials Relating to the New Brunswick Indians. Fredericton: Hannay Books, 1977.

Harrison, Michael R. An Evaluative Ethno-historical Bibliography of the Malecite Indians. (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnology Division paper no. 16.) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974.



McGee, Harold F. "Ethnographic bibliography of northeastern North America". In: Three Atlantic Bibliographies. (Occasional Papers in Anthropology no. 1) Halifax: St. Mary's University, Department of Anthropology, 1975.

Covers the Abenaki, Malecite/Passamaquoddy, Micmac, Penobscot and Beothuk.

McGee, Harold F. "No longer neglected: a decade of writing concerning the native peoples of the Maritimes". Acadiensis (1980) vol. 10(1): 135-142.

Morley, W.F.E. The Atlantic Provinces. (Volume 1 of Canadian Local Histories to 1950: A Bibliography). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Ray, R.B. The Indians of Maine and the Atlantic Provinces: A Bibliographical Guide. Portland, Me.: University of Maine Press, 1977.

Taylor, H.A. New Brunswick History: A Checklist of Secondary Sources. Fredericton, N.B.: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, 1971; also First Supplement, comp. Erich L. Swanick, Fredericton: Legislative Library, 1974.

Union of Nova Scotia Indians. Bibliography of the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia and Related Materials Thereto. Sydney, N.S.: UNSI, 1974.

#### Quebec and Labrador

Aubin, Paul. Bibliographie de l'histoire du Québec et du Canada 1966-1975 (tomes I-II). Montréal: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1981.

Covers historical writing published between 1966 and 1975; further volumes are planned.

Beaulieu, A. and W.F.E. Morley, eds., La province du Québec. (Volume 2 of Canadian Local Histories to 1950: A Bibliography). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Bibliographie du Québec. Québec: Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, quarterly (later monthly), 1969- .

Cooke, Alan and Fabien Caron, comp. Bibliographie de la péninsule du Québec-Labrador/Bibliography of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula (2 vols.) Boston: G.K. Hall, 1968.

Deer, A. Brian. Bibliography of the Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi Indians. Rupert House, Que.: Cree Way Project, 1974.

Dominique, Richard. Bibliographie thématique sur les Montagnais-Nascapi. Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1976.

Durocher, René et P.-A. Linteau. Histoire du Québec: bibliographie sélective (1867-1970). Trois Rivières: Éditions Boréal Express, 1970.

Feit, H. et al. "La Baie James des amérindiens. Bibliographie". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1972) vol. 2(3):3-62; see also supplement in Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1976) vol. 6(1):61-64.

Includes French and English works on the native people of James Bay.

Fried, Jacob, ed. A Survey of the Aboriginal Populations of Quebec and Labrador. (Eastern Canadian Anthropological Series no. 1). Montreal: McGill University, 1955.

Includes a bibliography.

Guide des sources d'archives sur le Canada français, au Canada. Ottawa: Archives publiques du Canada, 1975.

A good short guide to archival materials on the history of Quebec and French Canada.

Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec. Quarterly, Montreal, 1971- .

Prints articles on all aspects of Quebec native history and society.

Smith, Donald B. Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing. (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, History Division Paper 6) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974.

The bibliography (pp. 106-131) lists and discusses major historical works on Quebec Indian peoples.

Tremblay, M.-A. "Les études amérindiennes au Québec, 1960-1981: état des travaux et principales tendances". Culture (1982) vol. 2(1): 83-106.

Reviews ethnological, political and some historical publications.

### Ontario

See the section on Eastern Canada (above) for further references.

Bishop, Olga B. Bibliography of Ontario History, 1867-1976 (2 volumes; revised edition). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Continued in the Ontario Historical Society Annual Bibliography of Ontario History (Sudbury: Laurentian University, 1980- ).

Russell, Victor L., ed. Ontario's Heritage: A Guide to Archival Resources (15 volumes; 4 available to date). Toronto: Toronto Area Archivists Group, 1978- .

Detailed region-by-region lists of archival collections.

Spencer, Loraine and S. Holland. Northern Ontario. A Bibliography. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Weslager, C.A. The Delawares: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978.

### Western Canada (general) and Prairie Provinces

Arora, Ved. The Saskatchewan Bibliography. Regina: Saskatchewan Provincial Library, 1980.

Artibise, Alan F.J. Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.

Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Catalogue of the Glenbow Historical Library, The Glenbow-Alberta Institute Library, Calgary, Alberta (4 vols.) Boston: G.K. Hall, 1973.

Hoebel, E.A. The Plains Indians: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Includes a discussion of the literature. Concentrates on the U.S. Plains.

Hoover, Herbert T. The Sioux: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1979.

See also Canadian items in the more extensive Bibliography of the Sioux by Jack Marken and H.T. Hoover (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980).

Peel, Bruce B. Bibliography of the Prairie Province to 1953 (revised edition). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

"A selected bibliography on the native peoples of western Canada since the 'making' of the Treaties". In: Ian A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith, eds., One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978, pp. 139-149.

The best list of basic references for the native people of the Prairie provinces.

Smith, Dwight L., ed. The American and Canadian West. A Bibliography. Santa Barbara; Calif.: Clio Press, 1979.

Abstracts from America: History and Life, 1964-73.

### British Columbia

A Bibliography of British Columbia (3 volumes). Victoria: Social Sciences Research Council/University of Victoria, 1968-75.

For additional items and updates, see the "Bibliography of British Columbia" printed in the journal BC Studies (annual, 1968 to present).

Duff, Wilson et al. "A selected bibliography of anthropology of British Columbia". BC Studies (1973) vol. 19: 73-121.

Fisher, Robin. Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977: "Bibliography", pp. 213-239.

Grumet, R.S. Native Americans of the Northwest Coast: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Hoover, Alan L., comp. A Selection of Publications on the Indians of British Columbia (revised edition). Victoria: B.C. Provincial Museum, 1982.

A good basic list, annotated for the general reader.

Madill, Dennis. Select Annotated Bibliography of British Columbia Indian Policy and Land Claims. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Research Branch - Corporate Policy, 1982.

### The United States

Brown, Dee. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. An Indian History of the American West. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Debo, Angie. A History of the Indians of the United States. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

Prucha, Francis Paul. A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

The most complete single list of sources for U.S. Indian history, including Canadian material. Covers both published and archival sources. Some commentary.

Prucha, Francis Paul. United States Indian Policy: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1977.

A short list with discussion and evaluation of the major sources.

Prucha, Francis Paul. Indian Policy In The United States: Historical Essays. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.

Spicer, Edward H. A Short History of the Indians of the United States. N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., ed. The American Indian and the United States. A Documentary History (4 vols.). N.Y.: Random House, 1973.

#### 4. HISTORIOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, AND POPULAR ATTITUDES

Much has been written recently on the historiography of native studies in North America; that is, about the special approaches used by scholars, and the biases and prejudices found in historical, anthropological, and popular works about Indian people. (This includes works by Indians as well as by non-Indians.) A selection of Canadian items is listed here, along with related studies comparing North American Indian history to that of other aboriginal peoples, and works discussing the teaching of "native studies" in Canadian schools. For further sources on North America generally, see bibliographies attached to the items by Axtell, Dominique, Jaenen and Porter.

Adams, Howard. Prison of Grass: Canada From a Native Point of View. Toronto: New Press, 1975.

Allan, Robert J. Native Studies in Canada: A Research Guide. Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1982.

A catalogue of native studies programs and resource centres in Canada.

Anthropology and the American Indian. Report of a Symposium ... at the Meetings of the American Anthropological Association ... 1970. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1973.

See further material on this symposium in The American Indian Reader: Anthropology (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1972).

Arcand, B. et al. "L'imagerie des Amérindiens". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1980) vol. 10(1-2):132-135, vol. 10(3):202-208; 1981 vol. 10(4):278-285; vol. 11(1):96; vol. 11(2):172-176 and subsequent issues.

Picture essays and correspondence on Indians in popular culture in Canada.

Arcand, B. et S. Vincent. "Il y a un dessein dans le Boréal Express". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1979) vol. 8(3):203-212.

Analysis of a popular cartoon series involving Indians.

Axtell, James. The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Baker, D.G. "Color, culture and power: Indian-white relations in Canada and America". Canadian Review of American Studies (1972) vol. 3(1):1-8.

Barron, Pamela P. "The characterization of native Americans in children's and young adults' fiction with a contemporary setting by native American and non-native American authors: a content analysis". Ph.D. thesis, Florida State University, 1981.

Bataille, Gretchen M. and C.L.P. Silet, eds. The Pretend Indians. Images of Native Americans in the Movies. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1980.

Berton, Pierre. Hollywood's Canada. The Americanization Of Our National Image. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975.

Discusses portrayal of Canadian native peoples in American films.

Bouchard, S. "Faux combats, tristes arènes: réflexion critique sur l'amérindianisme d'aujourd'hui". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1979) vol. 9(3):183-193.

See commentary by A. Balicki in Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1980) vol. 10(1-2): 124.

Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Rebirth of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Treaties Six and Seven: the next century". In: Ian A.L. Getty, and D.B. Smith, eds. One Century Later... Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978, pp. 132-138.

Carney, R. "The native-wilderness equation. Catholic and other school orientations in the western Arctic". Study Sessions of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (1981):61-78.

Cauthers, Janet H. "The North American Indian as portrayed by American and Canadian historians 1830-1930". Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1974.

Chamberlin, J.E. The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes Toward North American Natives. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975.

Handles historical data in a questionable manner, but draws interesting comparisons between historical developments in Canada and the USA.

Clifton, J.A. "The tribal history -- an obsolete paradigm". American Indian Culture and Research Journal (1979) vol. 3(4):81-100.

Crow, L.D. "An argument" [on the writing of "Indian" history]. Kainai News, Standoff, Alta. (November 1980) vol. 13(22):14.

Dickason, O.P. "The concept of l'homme sauvage and early French colonialism in the Americas". Revue française d'histoire d'outremer (1977) vol. 64(234): 5-32.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Europeans and Amerindians: some comparative aspects of early contact". Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1979): 182-202.

Dominique, R. et R.F. Trudel. "Bibliographie sur les relations entre anthropologie et histoire et sur l'ethnohistoire". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1978) vol. 7(3-4): 120-122.

A good basic bibliography on the use of ethnohistorical methods in historical research. Includes sources in English and French.

Ewers, John C. "Indian views of the white man prior to 1850: an interpretation". In: Daniel Tyler, ed. Red Men and Hat-Wearers. Viewpoints In Indian History. Fort Collins, Colo.: Colorado State University, 1976, pp. 25-45.



- Fisher, Robin. "Impact of European settlement on the indigenous peoples of Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia: some comparative dimensions". Canadian Ethnic Studies (1980) vol. 12(1):1-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Indian warfare and two frontiers: a comparison of British Columbia and Washington Territory during the early years of settlement". Pacific Historical Review (1981) vol. 50:31-51.
- Fowlie, Irene. "Indian literature in high school English programs in Canada". M.Ed. thesis, University of Calgary, 1972.
- Fowler, Carol Ann, "The portrayal of North American Indians in three series of Canadian social studies trade books". M.Ed. thesis, University of Calgary, 1971.
- Gibbins, R. and J.R. Ponting. "Prairie Canadians' orientations towards Indians" In: I.A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith, eds. One Century Later... Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978, pp. 82-102.
- Green, Rayna D. "The only good Indian: the images of Indians in American vernacular culture". Ph.D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1973.
- Guillemin, J. "The politics of national integration: a comparison of United States and Canadian Indian administrations". Social Problems (1978) vol. 25(3):319-332.
- Hagan, W.T. "Archival captive -- the American Indian". The American Archivist (1978) vol. 41(2):135, 139.
- Haycock, Ronald G. The Image of the Indian. The Canadian Indian as a Subject and a Concept in a Sampling of the Popular National Magazines Read in Canada 1900-1970. Waterloo, Ont.: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1971.
- Healy, G.R. "The French Jesuits and the idea of the noble savage". William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series (1958) vol. 15: 143-167.
- Heyser, R.G. and L. Smith. "Public library service to native Americans in Canada and the continental United States". Library Trends (1980) vol. 29:353-368.
- Hirschfelder, A.B. "The treatment of Iroquois Indians in selected American history textbooks". The Indian Historian (1975) vol. 8(2):31-39.
- Hughes, J.D. "The de-racialization of historical atlases: a modest proposal". The Indian Historian (1974) vol. 7(3):55-56.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Conceptual frameworks for French views of America and Amerindians". French Colonial Studies (1978) no. 2:1-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "France and the New World: some neglected writers and views". Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Quarterly (1978) vol. 48(1-2):116-123.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "French attitudes toward native society". In: Carol Judd and A.J. Ray, eds. Old Trails and New Directions... Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979, pp. 59-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'Les sauvages américains': persistence into the 18th century of traditional French concepts and constructs for comprehending Amerindians". Ethnohistory (forthcoming).
- Jennings, Francis. The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonials and the Cant of Conquest. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- La Roque, Emma. Defeating the Indian. Agincourt, Ont.: Book Society of Canada, 1975.

Lurie, Nancy O. "Anthropologists in the U.S. and the Indian Claims Commission". Unpublished paper presented to the Symposium on Canadian Indian Treaty and Aboriginal Rights, Carleton University, Ottawa, 7-9 May 1970. Available in the Assembly of First Nations Library, Ottawa.

McDiarmid, Garnett and D. Pratt. Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized For Use in Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.

Manuel, George and M. Posluns. The Fourth World: An Indian Reality. Don Mills, Ont.: Collier-Macmillan, 1974.

Mickenberg, N.H. "Aboriginal rights in Canada and the United States". Osgoode Hall Law Journal (1971) vol. 9(1):119-156.

Monkman, Leslie G. A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

The best general review of the subject to date.

Mowat, William and C. Mowat. Native Peoples in Canadian Literature. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975.

An anthology of fiction by native and non-native writers.

Ortiz, A. "Some concerns central to the writing of 'Indian' history". The Indian Historian (1977) vol. 10(1):17-22.

Ponting, J.R. and R. Gibbins, "English Canadian and French Quebecers' reactions to contemporary Indian protest". Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (1981) vol. 18(2):222-238.

Porter, H.C. "Review article: reflections on the ethnohistory of early colonial North America". Journal of American Studies (1982) vol. 16(2): 243-254.

With an extensive bibliography of other works on the subject.

"Portraits d'Indiens: figurations ou défigurations". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1981) vol. 11(4), special issue.

Price, A. Grenfell. White Settlers and Native Peoples. An Historical Study of Racial Contacts Between English-Speaking Whites and Aboriginal Peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Melbourne: Georgian House/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Price, John A. Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians. Toronto: McGraw-Hill/Ryerson, 1978, pp. 200-225, "Stereotyping in motion pictures" and "Stereotyping by Indians".

\_\_\_\_\_. "Native Studies", Canadian Journal of Native Studies (1981) vol. 1(1): 159-206; see also commentary in (1982) 2(1):177-179.

For a comparable U.S. review see the American Indian Culture and Research Journal (1978) vol. 2(3-4).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Native studies in Canadian universities and colleges", Canadian Journal of Native Studies (1981) vol. 1(2):349-361.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Historical theory and the applied anthropology of U.S. and Canadian Indians". Human Organization (1982) vol. 41(1):43-53.

Reviews and compares U.S. and Canadian developments in several "social" fields (policy, cross-border issues, language, etc.).

"Quelques réflexions autour de..." [la littérature québécoise et les Indiens]. Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1980) vol. 10(1-2):70-74.

Ray, A.J. "Fur trade history as an aspect of native history". In: Ian A.L. Getty and D.B. Smith, eds. One Century Later... Vancouver: University of B.C. Press, 1978, pp. 7-19.

Ronda, James P. and J.A. Axtell, Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978.

Lists material on the Christian churches' views of American Indians.

Seydegart, M. "Curriculum development on peoples of native ancestry: a process of development". Bulletin, Canadian Association In Support of the Native Peoples (1975) vol. 16(2):24-29.

Skinner, J.M. "The Silent Enemy: a forgotten chapter in the screen history of the Canadian Indian". Ontario History (1979) vol. 71:159-167.

Smith, Donald B. Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France. (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, History Division Paper No. 6). Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974.

Published in French, with a new introduction by Rémi Savard, as Le 'Sauvage' pendant la période héroïque de la Nouvelle-France (1534-1663) d'après les historiens Canadiens-français des XIXe et XXe siècles. Ville La Salle, Qué.: Cahiers du Québec/Hurtubise HMH, 1974.

Stephens, C. "Interpretation and the Canadian exploratory narrative". Anthropologica (1981) n.s. vol. 23(2):107-120.

Taylor, J.L. "Two views on the meaning of Treaties Six and Seven". In: Richard Price, ed. The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980, pp. 9-45.

Townley, Charles, gen. ed. National Indian Education Association Library Service Guides (Nos. 1-11). Minneapolis, Minn.: NIEA, 1980-

Short manuals on library and reference services for native communities, with pungent critiques of existing materials and library methods. See especially Guide I, Parts 1 and 2 (Rosemary Christensen and Hannis Smith, Establishing Indian Library Service, 1980) and Guide 10 (Materials Selection, 1980).

Trigger, B.G. The Indians and the Heroic Age of New France. (Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 30) Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1977.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Pour une histoire plus objective des relations entre colonisateurs et autochtones en Nouvelle-France". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1981) vol. 11(3):199-204; printed in English as: "Colonisers and natives: toward a more objective history of New France". Rapports du XVe Congrès des Sciences Historiques, vol. II. Bucarest: Editura Academiei RSM, 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnohistory: problems and prospects". Ethnohistory, forthcoming.

Viola, H.J. "Tribal archives programs: past and present." American Indian Libraries Newsletter (1982) vol. 6(2):5-7.

Describes programs to establish Band (Tribal) archival collections and to train Indian researchers.

Walker, J.S.G. "The Indian in Canadian historical writing". Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1971) :21-51.

Washburn, W.E. "The moral and legal justification for dispossessing the Indians". In: J.M. Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America... Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1959, pp. 15-32.

- Waubageshig, ed. The Only Good Indian: Essays By Canadian Indians. Toronto: New Press, 1970.
- Wauchope, Robert. Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents. Myth and Method in the Study of American Indians. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Upton, L.F.S. "Contact and conflict on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Canada". Acadiensis (1980) vol. 9(2): 3-13 and BC Studies (1980) vol. 45:103-115.
- Vincent, Sylvie et B. Arcand. L'Image de l'Amérindien dans les manuels scolaires du Québec. Ville La Salle, Qué.: Cahiers du Québec/Hurtubise HMH, 1979.

##### 5. AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL

See also the collections listed in "Map, Picture, Film, and Sound Archives" (part D, Appendix 4 of this handbook), items on popular portrayals of Indians cited in the previous section of this bibliography, and items under "Music" (page 177).

- Blackman, Margaret B. Window on the Past: The Photographic Ethnohistory of the Northern and Kaigani Haida. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 74) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.

Discusses techniques for interpreting photographs and relating them to other sources.

- Brigham Young University. Institute of Indian Services and Research. Bibliography of Non-Print Instructional Materials on the American Indian. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Printing Service, 1972.

Includes films, filmstrips, slide sets, and records. Some Canadian material. Well indexed.

- Canada. National Film Board. Canada Picture Index. (6 vols.: vols. 7 onward are titled Photothèque: Photos Canada) Ottawa: NFB, n.d.

Illustrated catalogues showing a sampling of photos available for commercial use in NFB collections, including many pictures of modern Canadian Indian people and communities.

- "Le cinéma ethnographique". Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec (1981) vol. 10(4):218-250.

- Clavet, Alain. Guide to Canadian Photographic Archives -- Provisional Edition. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1979.

Includes a general subject index and partial descriptions of each collection. See commentary by C. Siegfried in the Newsletter of the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication (SAVICOM), 1980, vol. 8(3):6-7.

- Deer, A. Brian. "Annotated bibliography of resources". Bulletin, Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples (1975) vol. 16(2):19-23.

Lists some Canadian libraries and institutions holding records and tapes of native music and oral history.



McCardle, Bennett. Archival Records Relating to Native People in the Public Archives of Canada ... A Researcher's Guide. Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, DIAND, forthcoming 1983.

Describes film, television, sound-tape and picture holdings of the Public Archives of Canada and the National Museum of Man.

Ojibway-Cree Resource Centre. Audio-Visual Bibliography 1978. Timmins, Ont.: The Centre, 1978.

Ontario, Department of Education. Multi-Media Resource List Eskimos and Indians. Toronto: Department of Education, 1969; also a Supplement, 1970.

"Pictures as documents: resources for the study of North American ethno-history". Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication (special issue, 1975) vol. 2(2).

Rothwell, Stephen J. Multi-Media on Indians and Inuit of North America, 1965-1980. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980.

The most complete catalogue for Canadian subjects after 1965. Includes films, television programmes, and some filmstrips and slide sets.

Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College. Accumulated Film Holdings List. Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, Library Department, c. 1978.

"Still pictures in Subarctic research: A symposium...". Arctic Anthropology (special issue, 1981) vol. 18(2).

See especially "Repository sources of Subarctic photographs", J.C. Scherer, pp. 59-65.

Zimmerly, David W. Museocinematography: Ethnographic Film Programs of the National Museum of Man, 1913-1973 (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Ethnology Division Paper 11) Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974.

Lists and summarizes early academic films on Canadian native people.

## 6. NEWSPAPERS

Researchers must often use local newspapers as historical sources. This is frequently made difficult by the disorganization of local collections, the lack of subject indexes, and even the total destruction of original runs of some papers. The following items describe Canadian newspapers generally; for guides to native publications, see page 184 of this handbook.

[Ervin, L.] "Newspapers in the National Library". National Library News, Ottawa (June 1980) vol. 12(6):3-5.

Describes Canada's largest collection of local newspapers.



Lunn, A.J.E. "Bibliography of the history of the Canadian press". Canadian Historical Review (1941) vol. 22(4):416-433.

McGill University, McLennan Library, Reference Service. "Bibliographical Supplement #10. Newspapers: Identification and Location Tools". Unpublished finding aid, n.d.

Describes the major indexes and bibliographies relating to Canadian and foreign newspapers.

National Library of Canada, Newspaper Section. Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1977.

An extensive (though not complete) list of past and current Canadian newspapers, by region and town. Also gives publication dates, and indicates what copies of each are held in libraries across Canada. Includes a partial list of native newspapers. Available free from the Library; updates and corrections since 1977 are contained in the Newspaper Section's card index. The few subject indexes available (mainly for recent runs) are listed in the Section's Checklist of Indexed Canadian Newspapers (revised edition, March 1982). For more detailed historical reviews of the seven major Canadian papers today, see L. Ervin's "Building a collection of Canadian newspapers...", Serials Review (January-March 1980): 45-48.

### Clipping Files

Many libraries keep files of newsclippings on particular subjects. For a brief list of collections by region and subject, see the National Library of Canada, Newspaper Section, Access to Newspaper Collections, Annex 11, "Newspapers Regularly Clipped for Vertical Files" (unpublished paper, Ottawa, n.d.). The four largest clipping files on native and northern affairs are as follows:

DIAND Collection: clipping files on native and northern affairs generally, c.1955 to present. Subject, area, and biographical files, arranged alphabetically by file title (up to c.1977) or unindexed in chronological order (c.1977 to present). Collection to 1977 is housed in the Public Archives of Canada Library, 2nd Floor, 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa; for later material contact the Public Communications and Parliamentary Relations Division, DIAND, Room 1717, 10 Wellington Street, Hull, Quebec. A selection of clippings dated c.1880-c.1930 can be found in the "DIA Scrapbooks" in PAC, RG-10, Accession 78-9/16 (as yet uncatalogued).

CASNP Collection: clipping files on native affairs, with emphasis on current politics and claims, from the collection of the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, Toronto, 1968-c.1978. Available in microfiche form in various libraries across Canada, and by purchase from Micromedia of Toronto (see Appendix 3 of this handbook for address).

Boreal Institute for Northern Studies Collection: clipping files on native affairs, with emphasis on northern and Arctic Canada, 1975-c.1982. Originals at the University of Alberta in Edmonton; microfiche copies available from same source as CASNP collection, above.

Canadian Indian Rights Commission Collection: clipping files on native claims in Canada and internationally, c.1971-1978. Available in Canadian Indian Rights Collection, Reference Division, National Library of Canada, Ottawa.

## 7. RESEARCH AND STYLE MANUALS

Different researchers use different methods and styles of writing. The following are a few of the many guides available for those who want to improve their skills. The items recommended were chosen for their clarity and relevance to a wide variety of projects.

Barzun, Jacques and H.F. Graff. The Modern Researcher (3d edition). N.Y.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

Describes research methods, project organization, writing style, and historical approaches, in a clear and entertaining manner. Recommended for researchers with some prior experience.

Blackburn, Marc et al. Comment rédiger un rapport de recherche. Montréal: Centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1969.

Campbell, William G. and S.V. Ballou. Form and Style: Theses, Reports, Term Papers (5th edition). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978.

On style and format only. For university-level researchers.

Cook, Terry, comp. Suggestions For the Citation of Archival Documents at the Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa: PAC, 1982.

Turabian, Kate L. Student's Guide for Writing College Papers (3d edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

For beginning researchers and others. Brief and to the point. Includes advice on research techniques, writing style, and format of reports.

Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations (4th edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Similar to the previous item, but for more advanced researchers.

The York Press Style Manual (For Writing and Typing of Scholarly Works and Research Papers). Fredericton: York Press, 1971.

A very short and direct pocket guide, which describes the setting up and typing of reports (punctuation, format of pages, footnotes, bibliography, and abbreviations).















